1: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

●776

/For information on supernatural beings see category 116, pp. 30-85./

824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-poles,
[322] canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
[285] woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations
in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast
type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with
much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture
is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the
valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain
slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther
up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow
lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the
Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more
moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?

They believe that long, long ago, *Alquntäm*, the supreme
● [776] god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house,
Nusmät·a, in the land above, and sent them down to populate
the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of
two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and
wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form,
to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot.
They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses,
also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed
from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having
greater supernatural power. These first people increased with
extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village,
bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole
each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants
of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life
as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers 772 pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain [177] amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women.

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the [776] supernatural being, *Snínia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Snínia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns [823] that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people.

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

772 *sonx̣ʷ'*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should
expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̣ʷ'* as being
convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar
to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the
spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world,
and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the
[811] dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola character-
istic. This flat land is called *dāsonxʷ'dā* or *wasonx̣ʷ' wawułk-
łoqosił*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the
sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are
extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many
supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The
[821] relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined.
According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails
on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain
how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves
like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world
and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a
[538] striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain
[424] by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories,
which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the
beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points
out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind
that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its
773 present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the
[776] supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make
a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth,
but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it
fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had
been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called
Sałwalosam. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their
work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is
seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that
821 seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

772 775 beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs. [756]

772 There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[8] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. [821] The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

821 Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Aiiułāxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. [776] According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *sməmq*, a mythological animal of enormous size. [776]

The moon is thought likewise to travel[9] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power [756]

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[8] One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.

[9] The *Aiiułāxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun. [776]

instructed people about the significance of death omens; it 773
was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was [622]
Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as [823]
meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, 773
teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ālquntām*,
enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to 776
create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but
much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to
mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic
beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in
belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none [825]
of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still
exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any
interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him
only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance 776
is known, their powers and functions recognized. The super- 824
natural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ālquntām* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were
consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that
distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals
are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter
can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella
Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities,
but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom
into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically
ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a
Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the [535]
kusiut dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring [575]
(II, p. 196).

776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Älquntäm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *smmnq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of 776
his own urine, and spits out the mixture. 823

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

> A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two [525] of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of 776
all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; [736] accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

SUPERNATURAL ELEMENTS IN HUMAN BEINGS

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there 774
are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Älquntäm*'s in the land above. One method
756 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
and vessel used have potency through association with those
[755] in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Älquntäm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Älpälyslaslaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions
777 of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Älquntäm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mınakais* or *Tätä*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mınakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
726 with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
[785] ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle
down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mınakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Ālquntām*, under the name of *Mınakais*, is the
one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are
776 sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time,
when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Mınakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head
smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too
ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
community. In addition, information was obtained about
821 two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemālotla.* If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiye Xemxemālotlaō,[**] *auqwikdit* *llok* *di sonx"nudux*
Hail, *Xemxemālotla,* open the loftiest of your heaven
skāxyusamdu *dji stlexwnignu* *tcim nānudjux.*
so that may look down the cherished one your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemālotla* is the being who takes care of *Tlāqmā·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [785]

[**] The vocative form.

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, 782
there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman [133]
passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water [502]
and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no [756]
shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is [776]
T̓litcäplilän·a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and
gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible [224]
animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws
them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago,
T̓litcäplilän·a appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, [773]
and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have
since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of
a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food
on the fire and ask the protection of *T̓litcäplilän·a* for the one
in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into
flames are received and appreciated by *T̓litcäplilän·a*.

Mɪnakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also [776]
given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accom-
panies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of
eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war
or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but [484]
before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful
to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and [824]
four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle [825]
down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers,
but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally
satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water,
otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella
Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and
considered valuable by *Älquntäm*, but they emphasize and
accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's
sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on pre- 775
sents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the 782
land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

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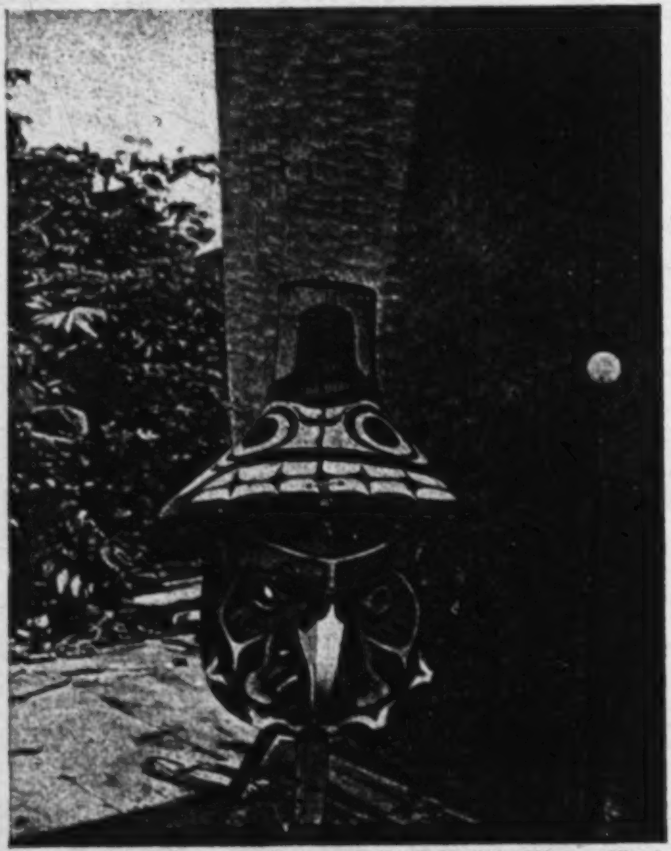
PLATE 10



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mask of *Q̇omoqwa* showing his huge hat. Notice the adze marks on the planks in the background.

[f 186 (B)]

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *susaok* 533
ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and 575
sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy 556*
being had landed there. At once there is great excitement
within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove [781]
them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a
susaok siki[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called [776] ●
Sixsixqwtnam, the supernatural being closely connected with
the *susaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki*
raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *susaok* ritual was newly 177
imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements,
Potles, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella 424
wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with
them as dower certain *susaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time 533
the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor 575
were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the
back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other 556*
hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with
them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural [425]
beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory
accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It [583]
appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the
Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man [563]
whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers
are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *susaok* matters, known [791]
as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained
this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the
Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they
do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with
equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves
certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *susaok*. In this account
of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many
cases any senior *susaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings
to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *susaok* was regarded as
capable of doing so.

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a [177]
certain *Smasas* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
once any number of *susaok* rush in and conduct him, concealed
* 556 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *susaok*
575 of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the
house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with
fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings
seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal.
[532] The design represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

● [776] "It is a *tutwinam*,"[12] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[13] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *susaok* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

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[12] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[13] If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *susaok* at the actual ceremony.

capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or 533
Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *susaok* 556*
explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity 575
of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes [535]
into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears,
recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the
accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard 556*
to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until 575
after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told
that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes
into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front
door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange
power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now,
for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through
the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola [776]
supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral
crest, but the *susaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated
to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a
mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not
seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

Several of the older *susaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept [177
was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently 776
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[14] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
575 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
177 time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
● [776] duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *sısaok* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sısaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *sısaok* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sısaok* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *sısaok* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no *556 return, but should he come to financial straits he would have [558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is [558] considered most improper for the creditors to think about repayment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between ●[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnukaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes [578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man 426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that *556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said 648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this [828] incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

*556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimx̣* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łälia* or *taitaimx̣* could be used indiscriminately.

Łälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-[776] like being, *sisiutl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sisiutl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. [177] On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization. 556 575

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests. [178] 556 575 535

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nusqwal*,[8] *llaiyäkam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lel·a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *llaiyäkam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *sisaok* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two [533] [533] [776]

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[8] Among the supernatural beings, the *nusqwal* is a yearling mountain goat.

551 dropped. *Kwai'hila'yokwɜ* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *kusiut* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tcākwālotl* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Ānudakānuts* and *Duduspux*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ailsamka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. At *Tāl·io Äl·imɪlsaix* gave a *kusiut* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tcākwalotl*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tcākwalotl*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Täl·io*[34]

*539 In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[35] *Nusqäps*, *Nusẓemda*, *Wiaqaii*, and their younger sister *Nulixwemankta*; they brought from *Älquntäm* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sɪsaok* ceremonials.[36] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tāl·io*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nusẓemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *snɪnq*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were ● [776] like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nusẓemda*. One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *snɪnq* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *snɪnq* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[34] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[35] It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[36] This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

[424]
[171]

leaving *Nusmät·a*, *Hamcu* had asked *Älquntäm* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Älquntäm* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Snιnιq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nunuq̣smäls*, "Where Water Enters." 539* [776]

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamcu* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamcu* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; so carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Snιnιq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means of hidden strings. Whenever one of *Hamcu*'s descendants gives a potlatch the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples. [532] [171]

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[57]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Waäkus* and *Kwatlnuslsa*, to Mount *Wa·put*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuix*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Älkwi*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatlnuslsa* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

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[57] Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

BIRTH

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of 842
Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between
marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare,
though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are [163]
several families with as many as eight or nine children. The
changed conditions which have followed the advent of the
white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth- [165]
rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously.
Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the
Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are al- [847]
ways desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide
have been known for many years, neither practice seems
to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable
effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage.
Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully
realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in [776]
all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four
Mesmesälänux acting on the behest of *Älquntäm*. It is believed [773]
that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in
the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some
complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any 843
extent upon the course of biological development, but are
content to assume that *Älquntäm* has made the coming birth
possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe
certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a diffi- [845]
cult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant [825]
will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants
can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should
be avoided.

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed [776]
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion;
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes [826]
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest
to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense
the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill
and his generosity. A woman who has had several children
often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more
experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly [465]
sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient
midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her
infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are
not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is
commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive
the perils of infancy.

763 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[824] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths
took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and
the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanāt·ān·ā*,
763 "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying
● 776 piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village
where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only
by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[789] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some
of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
kwakwas, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish
825 brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is
attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*lsi·t*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

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[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful
murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time
terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these
direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect
reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis
they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes.
[773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes
the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief,
even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm
of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life.
761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are
drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere
776 accident—it is because *Q̣omoqwa* was hungry and desired
human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as
the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling
tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to
crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals
believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an
animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on
[756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but
shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death,
but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through
life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in
the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does
753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause
is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or
the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements.
The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super-
[755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas
a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled
[754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the
machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed
761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even
[775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able
[726]

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575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some super-
[776] natural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent
[203] villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to
[628] the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *sısaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *sısaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family
[302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near rela-
[537] tive who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man,
533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2]
575 A hidden *sısaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and
766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *sısaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *sısaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

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[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by
[184] whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *sısaok* rites.

this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No 764
precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has
not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman [763]
of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and [602]
bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands
clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of
the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin.
Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance
and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the
back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be
closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the [775]
coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors.
A little choice food is placed beside the body of a
dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the
next world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according 575
to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential
sısaok, the senior members of that society meet as soon as 766
possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulakila*.
A *sısaok* son, brother, or other near relative is always
present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the
society. If the death has taken place during the night, the
conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at
noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about
the middle of the first possible day two *sısaok* are sent up one
of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped
whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly
audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the
sısaok society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing
near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a
sısaok concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse
is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from
within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know
that this is the voice of *Mulakila* (also called *Sixsixqutnam*), [776]

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 764
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped 556
to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony
of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and
was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient [575]
ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisaok* dance. As [796]
repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together
for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering
to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature.
It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness
the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never
occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret [766]
after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the
goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery.
Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the
secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking
articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the
gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the
subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives 783
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If
spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go
near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, [825]
after taking a body to the grave. They have become
tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the
river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become
affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly,
friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old
women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers
cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten
days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife
whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā·lma* [776]

764 783 [776] comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially purified. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent [841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment[illegible] in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

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[illegible] There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy
and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do
not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, some-
times even on their heads, and spend much of their time play-
ing a game resembling football with large, globular objects
made of some light substance. They communicate with one
another both by whistling and in a language which resembles
the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some
775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of
776 ghosts, *Aliät-iaial*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the
shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the
lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his exist-
ence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for
his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Snaiemar*
[76] he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of
anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has
been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is
775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human
beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of
time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to
[845] this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears,
which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings,
is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the
land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of
a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola
[772] dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is be-
neath every village[40] and that the dead pass straight down
through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the
grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it,
have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a
newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all direc-
tions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained
[768] by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

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[40] There may be one huge house, extending beneath the world like *Nusmat-a* above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

775 dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail.
He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound
went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified,
he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back
[752] to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that
he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both
of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to
help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it
[755] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped
the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames.
Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qwalán-i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-qwa-i*, was encamped at *Saskwanats* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qwalán-i* experienced
neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say
that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought,
[776] but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have some-
what the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed
to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that
they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered
their character to such an extent that they are avoided and
756 kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to
775 a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason
and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried
781 with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and
[762] undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching
to the surface. The relative desiring information summons
to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

Introductory

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been 787*
principally of a nature which might be experienced by
any member of the community. On the other hand, contact
with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals
without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. [554]
The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position
of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella 787*
Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in
the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every 776●
activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these
creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, ani- [828]
mals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are
considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient
stories describing the actions of strange creatures and con-
versations between man and animals are accepted as truthful [538]
accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that
his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never
considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts
the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated
from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings
have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them
on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief 781
makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in
events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is
impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

* 787 [756] sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.

(7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions[1]

539 * 787 The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe. ● [776] They realized that the being must be a *snusy*, since it is well known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

[1] [i.e. - appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. - See cat. #6, p 517 - ANALYST]

* 787 thus manifested itself. A white man's explanation would be that the "apparition" consisted of two water-spouts. 6

539 On another occasion several Bella Coola were encamped on the shore of one of the bays of King Island opening from Labouchere Channel. As they lay dozing by the fire they became aware that a woman dressed in black was sitting near them, but closer to the flames than a mortal could have sat. She explained that she had been gathering mussels and was warming herself; then, rising, she walked into the sea and disappeared. She was one of the ocean dwellers of whom little is now known though formerly they were more often visible. Another time one of the same folk was plainly seen sitting on a rock, but as her observers blinked their eyes she vanished.

[776] Dwellers in the underwater world are to be found beneath the lakes of the interior as well as under the ocean. Not many years ago, when some men were carrying goat meat down from their hunting ground, they stopped beside the small lake which lies at the head of the creek *Snuqā·x̣ʻ*, which enters the Bella Coola River about eight miles from the sea.

"I wonder what lives in that lake," one man said idly to a companion.

"Nothing," the other replied, but the first responded:

"You are wrong. Something evil lives there."

He had barely finished speaking when there rose from the lake a man with long hair, who stood, swaying back and forth, with the water around his thighs.

"There you are," said the first speaker to his doubting comrade, "I knew something lived yonder."

After a few minutes the man sank back under the water. Forthwith a strong wind began to blow, and snow not only fell from the heavens but rose from the lake. The hunters, who were not clothed for wintry weather, had great difficulty in getting back to the valley.

Occasionally the works of underwater people have been seen. The father of a man born about 1860 was paddling to Kwatna Inlet one night when he, as well as the other

wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is trans- 777
missible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who 787 *
owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from
selling a small portion of it. [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*,
meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being
though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or
a *susiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with [776]
a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-
headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person
who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass
as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion
must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact
with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must
be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no
rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There
is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in
contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight [776]
of a *mätsqus* or a *susiutl*, since death usually follows any incor-
rect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees [761]
one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a
fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that
if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of [757]
certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is
no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most
families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard
as the most efficacious.

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not
come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola
state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually
the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised cere- [785]
monial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of
cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the
danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a
pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they
are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one.

777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appearance
[173] of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the information
[184] to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
811 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
182 total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective
of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Omqomkilika*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

777 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again
224 began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every
shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be
obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqus*. Each contains
small particles of the skin of all animals, including human
beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds
and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick,
such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw
it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must
not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one
[785] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality
mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke
when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone
else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqus*.
These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own
clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long
[785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence.
During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two
years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal
[424] success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has
been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they
777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure
* 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before
long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew
● [776] that it must be that of *Twalällit*, the supernatural hunter of
mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade
scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief.
In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage
of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the
monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide
came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped
[761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in 777
handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a [761]
mätsqus, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next
chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways 783
according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One
common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there
hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen
tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger
must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals
scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and [824]
other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of
the monster.

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous 777
to the unwary, is the *susiutl*. The latter is supposed to have 787*
been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of
time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this [773]
carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains [776] ●
and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land
and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical 539
description of the manner in which a *susiutl* appeared in the 777
past.

> Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, 787*
> which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:
>
> "Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."
>
> When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *susiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Susiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *susiutl*, 777
and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 787*

777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *susiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an
[789] arrow could not penetrate.

Sometimes the *susiutl* assumes the form of either a spring
● [776] or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *susiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *susiutl*.

789 The *susiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chas-
[776] tity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *susiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänɛlp* or 278
walilikwätsälätsäläts, "The most potent of the pond") from the [776] ●
roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected
by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, [824]
but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good
for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient 757
is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to
certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, [262]
fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial [589]
woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded [841]
following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, [834]
not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of [761]
any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently 539
obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sısiutl*, it can be derived
from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition 776
is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän·i*. 777

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the 787 *
first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who 224
was also called *O'miätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tcopinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized; from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän·i*.

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*787
[776]

This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *qokān·i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wikwanutl knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *qokān·i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wikwanutl* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wikwanutl* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wikwanutl* did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wikwanutl* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wikwanutl* told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going 777
with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so 787*
the treasure was lost.

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the [539]
mythical creatures termed *snusɣ*. This variety lives in the [224]
ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting
on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the [776]
water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year.
After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as [224]
bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon [226]
to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease excrement of a *qokān·i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea.

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snusɣ*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

777 so that its floating locks remained between them and its head.
* 787 As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the
impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been
some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight
behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being
affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see
the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous
slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

539 Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune
has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described
777 in the following story.

* 787 A family living at *Nulleax* was reduced to the point of starvation
through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided
226 it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a
● [776] woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his
village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came
nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue
kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of
Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is
about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped
around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they
[784] know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long
ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off.
First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777 787 *

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanāt·ān·a*, "The Female Mourner." [776] ● When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would [776] have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without [763] knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanāt·ān·a* is considered an omen of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is [825] endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [224]

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[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

MODERN SHAMANISM

Although the powers ascribed to modern shamans are less 756* than those attributed to their fellows of old, yet a shaman is a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful 787* knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings. Hence, he is regarded as somewhat uncanny and, though respected, is likewise feared. The power is not inheritable. [828] There is a tendency for the descendants of a shaman to have like favours granted to them, but this is nothing more than a tendency on the part of the supernatural beings to confer their boons in this manner; it is not a right. Thus anyone, man or woman, rich or poor, young or old, slave or member of an ancient family, may become a shaman.

The Obtaining of Shamanistic Power

A shaman obtains his power from a supernatural visitant, usually the mythical woman *Ṫłitcäpliłän·a* (also called *Łulukwalıntnm*) [776] bringing him a name, four songs, and sometimes the ability to cure a specific disease. No methods are sure to attract her, but by means of magical rites a man may so purify himself that she will be likely to visit him. A second, and the most usual manner of becoming a shaman, is to receive a visit from *Ṫłitcäpliłän·a* when grievously ill. In either case a shaman is often termed a *kusiut*, "A Learned One."

In the first case, the wooing of shamanistic powers by magical means, it is often a matter of years before a man becomes a shaman. Sometimes the parents of a mere boy will notice that he is fond of lying around the house with a far-away look in his eyes, and appears unwilling to take part in the games of the other lads. Especially if the father is a shaman, or if one of his ancestors has had the ability, the parents watch carefully to see whether or not this is merely a passing mood. If it continues, they realize that their son may become a shaman. Although there are dangers attached to the profession, they will usually assist their child in every possible way. They may know how one of their ancestors obtained

*756 783 *787 (3) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently rasping his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(4) Another method is to devour four small sections, each [278] rather larger than a match, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and causes vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[785] Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may purify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Tłitcäplilän·a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

*756 *787 The most common method of becoming a shaman is through the appearance of *Tłitcäplilän·a* when a person is ill. [776] This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples:

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the ashes and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants. [776] One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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787 *
[776] ●

Tlitcāplilān-a always announces her approach. The supernatural woman appeared, clad in her usual costume, and struck the old woman over the heart with her stick. The other occupants of the house realized that something strange had happened to the sick person. She crawled four times around the fire, sunwise, shaking her hands as well as her infirmity would permit, and endeavoured to dance in time to the songs that she could hear *Tlitcāplilān-a* singing. Her friends did not interfere with her, seeing that something peculiar had come over her, and that in one so ill, any change must be for the better. The patient later described how *Tlitcāplilān-a* seized and shook her as one shakes a dusty blanket, and how she heard the sound of small particles falling from her—it was the sickness. With that *Tlitcāplilān-a* vanished and the rheumatic patient stood up, cured.

Another old woman had been so ill for four years with rheumatism, that she could barely move from her sleeping place, when a supernatural being came to her. She heard a voice saying:

"Get up! Mortal."

An invisible hand grasped her hair and led her four times around in a circle, sunwise. As usual, a tune and songs were vouchsafed to this woman, though these have now been forgotten.

One informant, a woman now past middle age, was once returning to Bella Coola from Rivers Inlet when she was taken violently ill with a stomach-ache. That night as she slept uneasily on the shore she heard a voice singing. Listening attentively, she learnt the words and tunes of two songs, and heard the voice say:

"Your name is *Älpālpalaslaix*."

Unquestionably the visitor was *Tlitcāplilān-a*, and if she had appeared, the woman would have become a shaman. Unfortunately for her, this boon was not granted; she received nothing more than the name, "Power to Use."

What is the explanation of the songs which shamans believe

"I am *Ánolqumdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756 P 787 F

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Tlitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ánolqumdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Tlitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one [553] or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Tlitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Tlitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with [796] her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she [553] bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sutsaqwalgulaaslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Tlitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Sutsaqwalgulaaslaix* [538] with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick."

Tämtämsla·puia. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nusnäs·mälsaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ánolqumdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

756 His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

787 *Ánuqwinmat*, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the [551] movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

[755] *Qpänpänliktnumlaix*, "The Revolver." This is derived from *qpänliktnum*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Tlitcäplilän-a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes [761] the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Ánunitsaktnum*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Tlitcäplilän-a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Tlitcäplilän-a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[6] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

756 776 787 Although it is *Tlitcäplilän-a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Tlitcäplilän-a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

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[6] The Bella Coola do not theorise as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick 756* even when at the point of death.

Ānuskieknum, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who 776• have been injured by other supernatural beings. 787*

Nunutsnumukmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ānotābākmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nuslkākstāmidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sisiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have 756* received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few 787* of their own people are said to have been benefited by it.

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick [825] people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree [533] which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman.

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to [553] validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [554] he got up and was working at the fire when his nose began to bleed. The people tried the usual remedies, but they were without effect, and the nose continued to bleed for several days. Shaman after shaman was called in, but none could do anything for him; and the bleeding continued until his face became so swollen that he could not see without lifting the puffy flesh, while his body wasted away and he became weaker and weaker, at last sinking into unconsciousness. His friends assembled in the house thinking he was on the point of death; in fact, one burnt his nose to ascertain whether or not he was still alive; the scar is still visible. Then he recovered slightly, his eyes roved around, and he saw the people as in a dream, and wondered why they had gathered. Next he heard his mother weeping, realized what was the cause, and asked her to stop. The watchers, noting his eyes and returning consciousness when he had been at the point of death, understood that a supernatural being had come to him in his hour of need and that he would become a shaman. He told those who were working over him to cease their efforts to cure him, as they were powerless. 756* 787*,

That night as he lay feeble in his house, he began to vomit, and succeeded in ridding his stomach of a large mass of coagulated blood. He and his mother examined it, and both thought he would die from its loss. In this they erred, for if he had not succeeded in getting rid of it he would have died. The night that he slept in the forest, he had lain in the path of *Snaiaxmax* who can travel only on fixed tracks and that malicious being had inserted the blood in him, the last of which he had just vomited. [776]●

The sufferer gradually grew stronger, but suffered whenever sunlight fell on him; accordingly his parents blocked all chinks in the walls so that he lay in darkness. A few days later he had a relapse, and was again at the point of death, when he heard, inside his head, a buzzing sound like that made by a bee; it was the tune, and also the words of a shaman's song which *Thlakpilitsa* was bringing to him. He could see her faintly

* 756 789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[778] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. ● [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

understand. She was also able to gaze downwards at the edge of the central fire nearest to the door. 756* 775

Ânutäbäkmots, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. [787 539] The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Pâluäil*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. [776] In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Karqukudjän·a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. [776] But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Ânutäbäkmots* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *kip*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls.

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor cajoled. 756* 775 787 Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She

* 956 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
* 787 *Kuriyut* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kuriyut's*
539 power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Power Localized in Certain Spots

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
● [776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phenomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when
[778] *Alquntäm* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smā·al*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaiun·a*, also called *Shelukwaily*: At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Shelukwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xkitwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

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[14] It is assumed that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned, hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; 778 a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and 539 the very roots were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour.

(2) *Pe·lıb*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North 778 Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel.

Here is found a *snusx̣*, one of the most powerful localized 776 beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *snusx̣* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crash down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving these far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Täl·io.* They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised limb. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *snusx̣* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast.

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella 778 Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural 539 beings regard the *snusx̣* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but [illegible] admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot-obtained two wives, the name of one being *T̓lisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. 778 539

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusq̣alst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuskəmidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sq̣alst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. 823 103 [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *T̓lisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. VI.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. 778 [164] [787] *

(11) *A̓lkssmos*: An unidentified spot where a *smʌnq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxgek̇am*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snulɔli* and *Tāl·io*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- 778
villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, 539
and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten,
then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there
was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became
suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished
him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it.
Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was in-
creased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that [754]
the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller
by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December 778
the former owner became crippled with a disease which so 755
weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from
the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his 539
friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere 787 *
Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in
the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often
was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a
shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many
of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their
success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might
wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this,
he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as
he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat
stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a
Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tlāqmā·ks*, [776]
such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little
creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting
point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same
kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion
stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next
day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within
the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large
number of people were talking and calling together, though he

778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
539 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping
*787 his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water
was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and
his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which
he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After
each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
[785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos
would have caused his death.[18]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a
patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bābʌnk'*. As already de-
●776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose,
with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[19] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have
been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

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[18] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.

[19] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. 776
The last Bella Coola to see these animals left *Stuux* one morning armed
with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was 787 *
crossing the bare mountain, *Kotunk'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, 539
when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he stalked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *babunk'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian.

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural 778
visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one
who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold patient lies [755]
still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health.

Another man, while fishing for one of the canneries, had been in the 778
habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew
it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one 539
occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power.

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the super- 778
natural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, 755
imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods
commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take 787 *
advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In [539]
cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *susiutl*, and as it

suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally 539*
from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kăliăkus* tied the bangles, so 756*
that they jingled with every movement of the child. 787*

Ălquntăm heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above
and sent a *llăqmă·ks*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, [177]
which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle [854]
rope where *Kăliăkus* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above
he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it [776]
a blanket which he had frequently used.[33] This brought him supernatural
good fortune. He concealed the *llăqmă·ks* for safety in an old chequer- [777]
work root sack, and left it lying on the floor.

Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch
every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant [551]
of the cradle, the name *Tlăqmă·ks*, which has been handed down from
generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kăliăkus*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *llăqmă·ks* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after leaving your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

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[33] A new one would have been useless.

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [775] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. [761] The breaking of one of these taboos causes his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. [424] It is the property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

2: McIlwraith
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English voçabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES 000

General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE *Kusiut* SOCIETY

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives 575*
of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described
it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral
part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a
secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately.
The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according 575*
to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. 192
Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural,"
or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. [776]
A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*,
plural, *kukusiut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. 551
If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type
of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* 575*
name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of [124]
the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or
other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation
is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for 535
about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an
atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, 575*
taking place almost every night. Preparations for 796
this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days
after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence
early in November and are continued until March.
During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate [787]

informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not 575*
inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and 774
asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps 755
forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is [784]
thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to 575*
an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief 774
should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect 626
for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is 575*
ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural 787
beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As 776 ●
already described, it is believed that a supernatural element
from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time 796
but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging 777
to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, 761
therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

*575 *Ālquntām* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with
787 *Sexsexḳālaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his func-
776 tions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts
as announcer and intermediary with *Ālquntām*, but himself
796 lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether
or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform cer-
tain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so,
they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who
has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic
representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a
performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the
796 house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each
787 earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the
776 one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and
between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by
535 means of which the latter receives the power necessary to per-
form. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a
yeux, which can be translated as "call," from his associate
above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural
being, but each is guided by *Ālquntām* in the performance of
the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases
the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family
traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the
787 leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no
uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts.
776 One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five super-
796 natural leaders, *Ālquntām* and his assistants, *Smaiaikila*, *Sexsexḳālaix*, *Snuslkāls*,
and *Sinxālotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ālquntām* is the *kusiut*
184 name of the supreme deity, and that *Sinxālotla*, *Smaiaikila*, and *Snuslkāls*, are
merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions.
This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity
as *Ālquntām*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers.
These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man
[828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites
at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as
a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand
how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the
one under different names.

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
778 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskäsiutsta* (also called *nusxi"ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ănoˀlikwolsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ănoˀlikwolsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the 575*
patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could 787
only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain
the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ano'likwolsaix* travels 424
only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every [778]
kusiut dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and
pointed chin (see Plate 13),[4] who "explains" the significance [776]
of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ano'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and
ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children
that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, [776]
Ano'likwolsaix bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to dis- 575*
guise themselves as *Ano'likwolsaix* and move around in the 778
autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near
for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* preroga- 425
tives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nalaxum*, an

4 [See category 116, p.84(A) - ANALYST]
^ (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the unin-
itiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

According to Kimsquit belief, *Anu'likwutsaix* has a hus-
*575 band, *Almaplaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
778 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls
776 dead before the power emanating from *Anu'likwutsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *haip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose
the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having
the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[4] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already
been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the
[178] white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[558] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

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[4] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[-'a - a repository of supernatural power -
ANALYST]

Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small 575* island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukusiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their group they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel [781] in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukusiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger.

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper [688] knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukusiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *sisaok* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kusiut*.

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experi- [781] enced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukusiut*.

Although every *kusiut* assists in preserving the dignity and 575* awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those 424 members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 776

*575 *Anoˀlikwolsaix.* They may be termed marshals of the society.
[424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali-
dated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* pre-
[776] rogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five
of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance,
the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them
addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on
the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admon-
ishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society,
to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member
who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part
if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation,
and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a
*575 non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society
should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are
688 present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from
the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result,
revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law.
The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who
should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated.
Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper
act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not
many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a
dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the
[761] marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for
a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being
caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of
551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house
where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed
[424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from
Anoˀlikwolsaix by an ancestor of the possessor, others were
created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and
[553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of
these names are:

Xwolsukmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor. 575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, smáiuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform. 575* 424 776 [535] [536] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ānu'likwotsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each. 575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In times [773] [781] uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the [illegible] to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites.

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The fourth day is *nuhanam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nuhanam* of one dancer is likewise the *kustimam* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season.

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A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of birch, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Anu'likwutsaix* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the [illegible], the Laughter, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is

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[114]
[124]
[776]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

*575 796 Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Anulikwutsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[778] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [illegible] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Anulikwutsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[1]

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[776] [1] According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Anulikwutsaix* also remains in every repository.

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 966

It is said that, in former times, the *kusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 553 177

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqalsmaise*. Several *kusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 776* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Nōakipsm*

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nōakipsm*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 124 125

Cf. Boas, p. 49.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

775 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Älquntäm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noäkxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[775 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several
831 succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[624 this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
776 patron was *Noäkxnum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noäkxnum*
575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
794 the *kusiut* dances begin.

184 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
424 as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcumatl* the *kusiut* who has the
551] prerogative of seeing *Noäkxnum* is a certain *Qoxalān-i*,[illegible] in *Kimsquit*, *Älhuskinmasam*,[illegible] and in *Slskiutl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

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[115
426
578] [illegible] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxalān-i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter *feelings* are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[illegible] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[The Dance of Noäkxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have pro-
[177] hibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained
the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[805] As the time draws near for *Noäkxnm* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkxnm* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[987] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

[773] It is believed that *Noäkxnm* must round four points before reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

*[203] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to
notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal
eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
● [776] natural being, *Nułálsmtnam*, at the moment of his departure.
This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is
rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often
likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this
they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X
at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, describes what *Noākxnm* is doing on his journey, as if X were relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 575* 796* 787 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupālx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noākxnm* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noākxnm* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noākxnm* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight. [203]*

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noākxnm* is in the river itself. He has reached the home of the Resident; *Imimālthnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dukdukdumew* and *Ālālimkitum* are greeting him." [776]●

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 575* 796* 776 [203]

* 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
* 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätlnaix*,
"The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the
● 776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Noäkxnim*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaien-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Noäkxnim*, and with him come *Smaien-a*'s son, *Älällimktnim*,[10] to assist *Noäkxnim* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also known as *Ämtäklis*.

* 575
* 796
787
[533] The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkxnim* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805]
[821] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Noäkxnim* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Stuie* and the upper villages than in *Qomqo-ts*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
* 575
* 796
773 As already described, *Noäkxnim* travels to *Smaien-a*, whence he leaps to *Nusqulewaista* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Älquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkxnim* seizes his

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[10] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to 575* whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on 796* representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know, that is enough for them.

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model 575* of *Noäkynm*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. 796* Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ano'likwolsaix* 532 ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals 776 sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[24]

"See!" she says, "There is *Noäkynm*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakänmem*, and the other as *Älälimkimm*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is [781] the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[25] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *sloli* (II, p. 381). If this has been done, *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Noäkynm*'s canoe.

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[24] There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater [177] importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (op. cit.), to which the reader is referred.

[25] As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any 575*
case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have 796*
had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been black- [302]
ened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlım* [292]
he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial [774]
season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an
uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is [834]
taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except
in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes [688]
to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was
formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules
apply to every dancer.

Alquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and 575*
at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. 796*
It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony 787
of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, 773
Noäkxnım seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*,
and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by 825
the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers
compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the
departing *Noäkxnım* empties a large number of olachen into
the river.[30] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This
final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after
calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkxnım* is 575*
patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just de- 796*
scribed, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the
ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper 787
prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkxnım* when at
the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four
days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated
ceremony, termed *[illegible]*, is carried out in the
manner described above, except that it is completed in four
days with only two songs.

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[30] Noäkxnım is accordingly often called *[illegible]*. [776]

THE DANCE OF *Wıl·a*

*575 *796 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noākxnım* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noākxnım* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with [424] a *wıl·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcımotl* the owner is a certain *Łukwala*,[30] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Älquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers ● [776] *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkiluka*, *Aimälotla*, *Aiamkiluka*, *Q̣omcua*, *Q̣wlaxwoa*, *Kwlilias Nuskämpta*, *Älmäk‑*, and their sister *Tłitcäplilän·a*.[31] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmät·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Tłitcäplilän·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *796 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

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[30] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[31] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

[The Dance of Wila]

*575 *796 782 The last to seat himself is *Kwlilias Nuskāmpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemālotla*, holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemālotla*, accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemālotla* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqomkilika*, for example, X says:

[539]
Asilqwal-atsnllulma | *dinuuusilxwumāstanas* | *oxpostemsuals*
Woodpecker-coloured | is the place where he sits, | the recipient,
lomqomkilikaals
Omqomkilika.

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlitcāplilān-a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud is heard on the roof while some *kusiut*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be- *575 *796 787

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[184] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *kusiut* who has this prerogative in connection with the name *Stalibmas-a*.

●[776] His other name is *Oxpoem*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

Sqwal-ana is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemālotla*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[126] These words are virtually sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 62; singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *I*…, and *ao*…,[41] revolving sunwise at the same time.

*796 *Ȧno°likwolsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *796 556 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Ȧno°likwolsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is [776] thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and *sxaok* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any [787] connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the *575 *796 787 night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

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[121] [41] A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D [illegible]; singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *lsuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkiliklia* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Älquntäm*, *Sxsxnḳälaix*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case 575* 796* 424 [981] [776] ● [787] [781] [171] [622]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. *796 Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and per- [171] form his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out [622] with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

[424] The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions [184] that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in [115] which *Kämätsiaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätsiaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances [787] it is on some potlatch that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. [534] The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Äliūlāna*, is said to be the voice [796] of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmān a*.*

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*The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with [illegible]. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the variation and apparent distinctness of the sound. The four travel in single file, the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member [858] should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to 575*
sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. 796*
Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the 787
song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud 533
for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other
song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers 575*
which X has survived. The singers add new facts and infor- 796*
mation to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually de- 787
scribed are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that 533
flows through it. 772

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair
from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his super-
natural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when [766]
in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell
the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of [761]
the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Alquntäm under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Alskam*, "They [776]
of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking
him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat
land above.

The kindly being *Sinunukälähm*, who gave him the neces- [776]
sary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that [761]
unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all
these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers
draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce
a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[44] and the uninitiated 575*
are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal 796*
after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the 787
most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

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[44] There is difference of opinion on this point.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575
532
776
●

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith,
National Museum of Canada

Mask representing *Anu'likwutsaix*

[p. 84 (1)]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 *796 556 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut* to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *ilotem*. The essence of this is *575 *796 787 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the *nuluxam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Alquntam*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers [533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusixatilap*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for [532] [776] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings:

Alquntam, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Alpatsos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Alilpaix*, "Holders," who restrain *Alpatsos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Anutlixaalsis.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575*
Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796*
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Sninq's patron is a *sninq* of the Mountain which became [776]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolianlmy*, though it is said to resemble the one just described
in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424]
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the reposi- [787]
tory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575*
Qolianlmy gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 778
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Can- 575*
nibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some 796*
had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowl- 776●
edge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. [171]
The one called it *Bâxbâqwanâlxciwa*, the other *Bâxbâqwaiwa*.
All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the
Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the
cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella [171]
Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella.
During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian
who had left his home many years ago and had since been
living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown
man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal [428]
prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After [424]
the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above,
a large masked figure representing *Bâxbâqwaiwa* entered
through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped
to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella
Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to
their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be con-
vinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them.
The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohao*, since
the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The
Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means [186]
ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. [171]
After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang
the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which
was commented upon as another difference in custom.

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the 575*
Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are 424
able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody [996]*
weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers
are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following
points show:

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 They[1] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *puthm* or *nuhuram* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sna'alaulx*

[776] *Ālquntām*, one of the sons of *Ālquntām*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which
*796 the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Ālusknaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Ālusknaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[1] [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Breaker Dance]

575
746 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they
[424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival
[593] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed,
[264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

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594 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Apsk* of [illegible], performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Apsk* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

> Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of [illegible]. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dancers, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of [illegible] *Alquntam*, one of *Alquntam*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.* When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of these, ricocheted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unfortunate accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Apsk*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a member of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essen-
[231] tial is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

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746 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

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[776] *This being is also called [illegible], "The Cherished One."

3:McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NE8 Bellacoola NE8

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575* soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 796* these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts [787] more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being [illegible], 575* the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a 796* novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the incidents which 535 originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *[illegible] Alquntäm* as patron; some have *[illegible]*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, 'ai, 'ai. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, 575* presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 796* played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been [531] broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [426] exhibit their right.

Next morning, *[illegible]*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575* *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 796* bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 552 tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is 424 of *[illegible] Alquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the 776 ● supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *[illegible]*. 1468 elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the kusiotem dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alquntam* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Qaimalkas* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving kusiotem dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following account is of the dances performed by a certain *Qaimalkas* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repetitions, one for each section of his dance.

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*The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

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[773]
[551]
[776]

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *[illegible]* in the case of all kusiotem dances. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for kusiotem dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus kusiotem dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

[776] ●
[821]

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early autumn X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

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776*

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*There are other kusiotem dances in Bella Coola.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

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tory announcement made to the kukusiut on the night of some gathering in the following manner:

As the kukusiut are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying: "I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the kukusiut, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the intimation is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the kusiut society that they practise it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young kukusiut are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The [776] uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night.

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Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following afternoon, but more often after the [illegible] in the evening. When the display, whenever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are at once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by kukusiut dispatched for the purpose. As they [776] hurry out they are told that the noise is the drawing cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the drumming done by kusiut women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out:

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hum-like whistle and sits down, while the women drum. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, uneasily, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who screams as if something had struck him, while the women drum more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten rapidly four times and a herald goes to every house

After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the 575*
lower, western rear corner of the house as follows: 796*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Let there come to earth	the voice of [illegible]	to revive

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539

[illegible]
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575*
then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the 796*
puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 787
region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its brother, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the constant calling herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the [593]
women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575*
long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796*
heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [776]
nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of [illegible].
In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the [184]
entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden [592]
figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is 575
now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 796

The *kusiutem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lustâmem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutâlsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *haip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set [482] them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kusiutem*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be de- [424] scribed, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in [556] the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *sakacam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Älquntäm*, his messenger *Ogwlidis Älquntäm*, and, especially *Kalôlhâmalqlat*, the super- [796] natural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer [787] the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän-a* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two 575*
kukusiut, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more 796*
than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have
danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent [574]
away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the ad-
monitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the 575*
occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent 796*
than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical 587
address:

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long 575*
after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *sxaixaix*. 796*
Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock
in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumer- 592
able details. A representation of *Anu'likwutsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Alquntäm*, *[illegible]*, and
[illegible]. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom [776]
Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means

* 575
* 746
592

of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many other supernatural beings and animals have been made, including two which are reserved for *kusiut* dances alone. The first of these is X's patron, *Kalalkalwailjut*, who is capable of having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of *Opalilis Alquntam*, the herald of *Alquntam*. Above his mask is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings. By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

[796]

* 575
* 746
[592]

The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accompanies a curing ceremony. Then *Opalilis* leaves X's house, followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village where *Opalilis* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xuu . . . .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Opalilis* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Opalilis* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

A third frenzied beating is followed by a third round of the village with the announcement: 575* 796*

"The fire is ready."

For the fourth time the *kukusiut* in X's house beat time furiously, and again [illegible] calls forth.

"Everything is almost ready," he says in each house.

By this time any lagging *kukusiut* have taken their places in X's house, and when everything is in order one of the heralds calls out to the uninitiated that they may enter. In they rush, and sit quietly in the corners near the front-door. [illegible], his work accomplished, stands at one side of the space behind the fire, while the inevitable *Anulikwutsaix* moves to and fro, keeping up a constant flow of conversation. Sometimes *[illegible]* stands behind the fire; on other occasions he has been known to walk through the house, accompanied by two assistants blowing eagle-down over him. He moves his face as if in pain, and then lies down behind the fire, where the uninitiated can see his stomach contracting and expanding as if it had been ripped to expose the entrails. At the distance from which they view the spectacle it is easy to carry out the deception. [illegible] sits down behind the fire and another supernatural being comes from one of the enclosures. As far as could be learnt, the order of their appearance on the occasion when X performed was as follows, though there is no ceremonial significance attached thereto: 575* 796* 796

[illegible].

Alquntäm. He always wears a huge mask and the actor must have a powerful voice for at intervals he bellows out:

"Mortals! See me, I am *Alquntäm*," while the heralds and *Anulikwutsaix* echo and confirm his remarks. He stalks from one of the enclosures to the central position behind the fire, where he remains standing.

[illegible] appears and stands near *Alquntäm*, his nose and forehead wrinkled in deep thought.

[illegible] joins the group. These three supernatural ones remain standing for some little time, then they pass into

575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

786 776 *[illegible].* Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alkuntam* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

[illegible]. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukusiut* women drone. Several [788] masked figures accompany the *[illegible]* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Åno'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *[illegible]* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haohao. This supernatural mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 6).¹ It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukusiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Åno'likwolsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haohao* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukusiut*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

[illegible]. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [539] der, the leading *kusiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

¹ [see category 116, → 164 (B) - ANALYST]

[The Stomach - Cutting Dance]

a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he 575*
beats on the floor as he cries out: 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of 776
all [Thunder] is about to dance." 532

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[1a] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so 575*
that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his ap- 796*
parent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and
down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched 776 ●
teeth, while *Ano'likwotsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, 535
and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ano'likwotsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

Sqnqwades. Twelve of these beings appear together, dis- 575*
guised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 796*

[1a] [see category 116, p 164 (c) - Analyst] 776
[532]

575 796 776 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the land above who play together outside *Nusmät·a* and refuse to allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[592] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Sgupsadas*.

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sosiarmas* bursts forth from the other and at once the *Sgupsadas* hurry from sight, shepherded by the Hermaphrodite. [592] *Sosiarmas* wears a mask representing an ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

575 796 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two [illegible]. In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *kukusiut* burn the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the potlatch of every *kusiut* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on potlatch nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

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532
976

PLATE 8

Photograph by the author

Masked figure representing a [illegible]

[p. 164 (B)]

575*
796*
776 ●
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292

PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575*
776*
776●
832

PLATE III

Photograph by the author

Thunder carrying the [illegible]

[p. 164 (E)]

[The Fungus Dance]

575 796 [424] from a distance. When one of the participants has speared the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

575 796 178 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut* rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *[illegible]*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *[illegible]*.

575 796 821 [424] [593] [774] The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *[illegible]* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

Alquntam: under the name of *[illegible]*.

The Moon.

[532] *[illegible]:* This was introduced on account of being the place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *[illegible]* monoliths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

[illegible]: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[593] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

575*
time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his 746*
house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing 821
sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X
dances. Other *kusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an [539]
eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, [424]
but X claims to be the only girl entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one 575*
termed *Āmatsānā* that element is brought home so forcibly 746*
to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Āmatsānā* means *stajam*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is
one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates [556]
such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by [424]
Ṣwaltān i of *Tsumatl* and *Saipnds* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given,
and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most [179]
Mystery dancers is *Sīnuliponalalx Alquntäm*, but that of *Saipnds* is *Kokoduum*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on them, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Anigada* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Aimaluu, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821 796]

Nuspanta Imaiaikila, "The Eagle Down *Imaiaikila*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Imaiaikila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Kilmsatimam, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *kusiut*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

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who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need be said concerning the ritual of *potlaw* which follows the pattern already described. 575 * 796 *

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Anul'ikwutsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very powerful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked figures used when *Qoaxlim i* last performed the dance; it must again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the typical *salacas* of a Mystery dancer. [285] 575 * 796 * 532 776

The first to appear are *Iwachermai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Anul'ikwutsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the *Iwos* stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Lāmalkpamaltsli Alquntām*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

* 575 air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times
* 746 hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from
falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops
532 to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and
776 again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Ânuˀlikwutsaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear, together. Each wears a mask,

776 575 796 522 [532]

representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *kukusiut* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

575 796 532 776

The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqalxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

[The Mystery Dance]

575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
796 are impressed as *Anu'likwutsaix* confirms and supplements
what has just been told them.

582 After a short pause, the announcer cries, O——,
776 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Sninq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sxo'oloolx Alquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Alquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Alquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sxo'oloolx Alquntäm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Anu'likwutsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqalsmaix*, and have listened to it howling for *Alquntäm*; as usual, *Anu'likwutsaix* confirms his

[The Mystery Dance]

ceremonies. Non-members recognize that [illegible], Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kusiut*. 575* 796* 592 776 [781]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *[illegible]* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the dancing invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *[illegible]* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [778]

To the accompaniment of O······ from the audience and the drumming of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *[illegible]* explains that these are *[illegible]*, the Carpenters of *[illegible]*.

Now *[illegible]* comes forth. He is the herald of *[illegible]* who summons the supernatural ones to *[illegible]* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

[illegible]
[illegible]

975 of which is a similar bird that disappears within the rod by the
976 pulling of a cord. This being is patron of other [illegible], but
this does not debar X from displaying him at his ceremonial.
982 Then *[illegible]* goes around the fire, moving his hand in a
776 jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *[illegible]* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *[illegible]*.

Then the covering is drawn aside to expose the figures of *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*, each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *[illegible]* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tone, all the figures turn around sunwise, shouting as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the covering is restored to place. During this, *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain presents from them, while *[illegible]*, the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *[illegible]* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *[illegible]*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He beats violently on the floor with his rod and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once Thunder either rushes forth or sticks his head over the covering and bellows forth:

"No! No! Don't come."

After *[illegible]* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

[illegible] follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all: 575* 776*

"No. No. Don't come."

When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to contradict the Herald's invitation. [illegible] explains that [illegible] is hostile to the mighty Thunder, while [illegible] is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. She adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear. 532 776

As evidence of Thunder's near approach there next emerges [illegible], a masked figure who dances silently around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. [illegible] hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the announcer cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading doctor of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the uninitiated."

The women drum and the [illegible] beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the curtain is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, standing on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with cedar bark. 575* 776* 776 Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains silent, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are rattling heavy stones in boxes to imitate the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to communicate to himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the

775 776 777 [53] fire, while the women drum out an accompaniment. The mask has only one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other kukusiut, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really deferential attendants.[*] When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he stops, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power from the smoke; then reascends the box behind the mat-curtain from which he first jumped. One of the kukusiut thrusts in his hand a perforated rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11),[§] Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and two assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the drumming of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof creates a clatter on the boards, another pounds on loose planks with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling out in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power from the fire before retiring behind the matting, which is then rewound. The announcer cries out:

"The *kusiut* of the supernatural ones has been with us; his fire was wonderful for us."

[54] In turn and there appears a masked figure of *Sipalaxaim*. This being dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *[illegible]* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. She adds that

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[*] Such guide-attendants also accompany other supernatural beings.

§ [see category 776, p 164(E) Analysis]

Sipalaxwala is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 575* 796*

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Nisqo*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ank'ilimalaxis* explains that *Nisqo* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion. 776 ● [532]

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and constricts the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transferred his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the matting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the rattle containing smouldering bark, and once more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the matting is pulled into place. *Sipalaxwala* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ank'ilimalaxis* does not [532]

576 speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been
976 given.

776 After a short pause the announcer calls impressively:

"Take care! The hawks are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a hawk backs out. [582] The mask, about three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another hawk likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hau, hau, hau*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from them in case they should become ferocious, but in reality to [592] direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the groping performer in which direction to move. When the hawks have disappeared, *Anu'likwaitsaix* explains who the visitors were.

[584] Next appears a Snail. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Anu'likwaitsaix* explains that this is a Snail from *Nusqualemtsitx* which has come to visit X.

[633] Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Snail he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Anu'likwaitsaix* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor has retired from sight. *[illegible]* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals call the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt. 575* 786* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *[illegible]* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further dances, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this manner it has been ensured that it is possible to complete the display without postponements.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *[illegible]* with the same procession of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *[illegible]*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, one at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance. [532]

THE DANCE OF *[illegible]*

[illegible] is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the rivers, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *[illegible]*[*] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the direction of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *[illegible]* is supposed to return from the 575* 786* 776 825 186 824

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[*] Also called [illegible], "Who Brings the Fish."

575 land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his
776 successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the fol-
776 lowing year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same
825 function to [illegible] provides no difficulties to native philo-
sophers.

186 "Different individuals have different stories," they say, and
826 the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no
consequence.

773 The incidents described in the following myth are always
824 spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming
825 of [illegible] is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to
534 the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

[illegible]* once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the herrings who live in a far and more [illegible] beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their [illegible] names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not so clearly differentiated as they now are. [illegible]'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, [illegible];
The Hawk (?) species, [illegible];
The Raven, [illegible], "He Who Talks to Slaves and Widows [illegible]";
The Water Ouzel, [illegible], "The Walking One";
The Great Blue Heron, [illegible], "Long Neck";
The Hummingbird, [illegible];
The Cormorant, [illegible], who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four [illegible] supernatural beings, [illegible].

The expedition was under the especial protection of [illegible], a female supernatural being, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the chiefs obligingly drifted [illegible] to the harpoons so that the fish could not see their

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[192]

* As most etymologically connected with [illegible], the Bella Coola name for the [illegible]

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fish. Each of the men captured a different kind of salmon which, in the 773
myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 824

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Qhiddimai*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish 825
appears before and after spawning. 539

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nanatkhaniam*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the River."

The Raven captured the humpback salmon, *Ânalpimaia*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Iputalm*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the coho salmon, *Kpapstaciaualaia*, "The One that Makes Us Eat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Oxipan*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hummingbird was also successful; he filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry sprouts.

As soon as the raiders had achieved this purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola ancestral have a dance prerogative of 424
which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and 773
some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the 778
names of the bird-men. The reasons given for the use of
W'inwina as person likewise vary. According to one account, [776]
in the beginning of time *Alquntam* gave the name *Nanaqotmai* to a reservoir near the summit of the lofty Mount Sir, near Stuie. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby kicking dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *W'inwina*. The reservoir is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nanaqotmai* has had the dance prerogative of using *W'inwina*.

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
779 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *[illegible]* and obtained him for *[illegible]*,
● he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for [illegible].

* 575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
* 746 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[30] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking seaward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning.

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[805] [30] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom fixed.

#575 #796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *[illegible]* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *[illegible]*. That is what they did when they went with *W'comina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kusiut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *W'comina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *W'comina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grating sound accompanied by short paddle strokes. If he calls out "*yaa!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grating. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

#575 #796 824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nunuoska*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *[illegible]*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 916*

During the evening of the next day, *[illegible]*, the usual carpentry tasks are altered. Only three masks are required, one of *Ãnu'likwutsaix* and two of supernatural beings termed *Mátlaxm*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *[illegible]* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *[illegible]* the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *Ãnu'likwutsaix*, but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party returns to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mátlaxm* dance around the fire while *Ãnu'likwutsaix* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kukusiut* soon ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mátlaxm*. [424]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prestige of his person, the dance of his human prototype is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 916* 424 776

F: McIlwraith B-1 (1922-1924) Draft
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

*575 his followers on earth can do the same. The ritual of [illegible]
*776 of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a
424 Mystery dancer. In the field no effort was made to obtain
accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than
[776] of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[55] In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Rumbler," with reference to his powers. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

*575 The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every
*776 respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the
first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of
776 [illegible] and these are ready early on [illegible]. During that day the uninitiated are invited to see the masked figure of *Anulikwutsaix* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, [illegible], calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles [illegible] to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind [illegible] comes [illegible], the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *Anulikwutsaix* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes [illegible] and [illegible] pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

carried to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the loser was shoved from a canoe into the river. 575* 796*

In the evening the kusiut are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a spear containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainmaker appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comedy is added by the reiterated remarks of [illegible] who [illegible] the attempt to belittle Thunder. 776 [522]

The time-keeper for the upper dancer, [illegible], appears after Rainmaker. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of [illegible]. At the same time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of [illegible] as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a peculiar [illegible] among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws followed by the musicians. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agitated manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Butterfly likewise imitates the movements of an earthly [illegible]. [illegible] attendant explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house [532] [825]

[The Dance of Thunder]

1 575
4 796 with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger
776 and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him
● and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a super-
[123] natural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of
[781] 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a
younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Anul'ikwotsaix* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns
[522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Anul'ikwotsaix*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

4 575 Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or
4 796 Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but
[424] perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If
Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of
[821] year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too hastily up aloft. *Wuu* ····."

[789] The call of *wuu* ··· is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* women present at once dance, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 946*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been stained [788]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to [775]
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face,
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is [776]
Aipaalai, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead man. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

* 575 * 796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

* 575 * 796 ● 776 [522] [881] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *[illegible]*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relations to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prerogative at Kimsquit is a young [561] [562] [424] man, *[illegible]*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *[illegible]*; like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *[illegible]*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *[illegible]* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [538] [532] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *[illegible]*, but also of the being known as *[illegible]*. Many masks are required at the [illegible] of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *[illegible]* one year, and to *[illegible]* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

* 796 * 575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements at, normally,

the *qatlos* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Sximsximdi*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly loving men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Syil* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Wiwaixtoaad* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Wiwaixtoaad* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.[36] No detailed description is required for the ritual of *[illegible]*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *qatlos*, since these follow the typical *kusiut* pattern. 575 796 [593] [776]

During the afternoon of *[illegible]*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a fluent man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Anolikwotsaix*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Sximsximdi*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's home and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated hasten into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Sximsximdi* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers, [592]

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[36] Definite information concerning the identification of *Wiwaixtoaad* could not be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat·iwal·a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575* 796* [533] [776]

On *masiatálisap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nuluxam* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat·iwal·a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsx·imalt* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *Kwat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [532] [831] [522]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat·iwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Anuʼlikwalsaix* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [532]

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, [424] *575 *796 [424] but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[33]

● [776] [821] One of the forms in which *Älquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sınxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[34] were themselves protégés of *Älquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

[424] [551] Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Älquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Älquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolän·i* of *Tcımotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusq̣alst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise [533] [776] the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Älquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re- [532] quired; a large one representing *Älquntäm* himself, one of

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[171] [33] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[34] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

* 575 dance of *Nuškəman* is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the
Wi·la dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[824] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Alquntäm*
[821] at last enters *Nusqalxuaista* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above.
[821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon
*796 to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a
821 Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound; X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[illegible] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are
[533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqsalsᵋ*', has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

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● [776] [illegible] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqsalsᵋ*'
[192] which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make 575*
good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been 796*
a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an 821
eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with
death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his [688]
fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his [177]
conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in
deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron [776]
to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. [551]
Among them is *Nalaimás*, "The Moon When It Is Unob- [424]
scured," of *Tcamsil*, from whom the following account of the
Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Ariulánam:[47] A woman who lives in the moon and who can 575*
be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of 796*
water. 821

The two *Aiqmainst:* These two beings are able periodically 776
to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Snitsmān-a:*[48] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares
to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition simi- [784]
lar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing out-
side a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

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[47] *Ariulánam* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application [775]
of the same designation to the woman living in the moon. [192]

[48] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[The Octopus Dance]

* 575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiot* are left alone
* 796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other dance. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on succeeding and [illegible].

On the evening of *sukcam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus.
[532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[554] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

* 575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
* 796 that performed by a certain *Kálqam*, whom it will be conven-
424 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *[illegible]*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever-
● [776] greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the ford; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiot*,[illegible] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
* 575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
* 796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiot*,

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[illegible] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

575 746 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither [illegible] nor *sulutcam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. [538] It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

575 746 787 424 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *kusiutnem*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *sulutcam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *[illegible]*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Alquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

575 746 776 424 551 778 *Yayakmpl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwaste*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yayakmpl's* station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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but to *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

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776
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776
[424]
[551]
[532]

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Äluquntäm* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds which is in effect a scattering, is known as *masqurkal* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qweta*. For the *[illegible]* of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

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821
[573]
[532]
[424]

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sinqlominit*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Scitoma*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on *[illegible]* figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snulsiaxwanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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[821]
[532]

Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

[824]

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Snisia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snisia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snisia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snisia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ālikolāxlaix*. [535] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

[823]
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[778]
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The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mantlats·smm*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Tsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nahusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

[825]

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

*575 *796 776 825 [779] natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed [221] [226] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to [532] doubt. For the *sabucam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakánus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *osndamanais*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakánus* and *Dakdakánmem*, those who await *Noákynm*, appears merely to be an accidental re- [192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575 *796 776 184 [755]

THE DANCE OF *Álmoqltaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Áno'likwotsaix* has a husband, *Álmoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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stumble upon a [illegible] and are stricken down by his will. 796*
Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back 776
of the victim's neck and calling out, *haip*. From constant 154
repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *sulusam*, the mask representing *[illegible]* is [756
painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round 532]
protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appears to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *[illegible]* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *sulusam* of her Kimsquit protégés, [532]
she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER 575*

Every morning in *Nusqalsmaiita* the woman *Spaispaos-* 796*
numāx a goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She 776
is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *sulusam* of her [532]
protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the [821]
morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtnum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *sulusam* they appear and *Ānaʻlikwalsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[the Dance of Dances]

* 575 when they do. With them comes the being Onlxtsaxma, "The
* 776 Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who con-
● 776 stantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this
[532] being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nuxwilxlaxwilem, also called *Tutuwixu*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *mdusam* of one of his [532] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated object to the bad manners, but the *kukusiut* comply with his [431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nutsadjipuxm*, who is patron for [532] several *kukusiut*. On the *mdusam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Anuʼlik-walaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is [184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqalsmaits*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s HERALD

Opalikts Alquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *mdusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

[illegible] 948
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

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[illegible] to [illegible] the dance of *Alquntam*. This is his function in the land above, as it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntam*'s FISHERMAN

Alquntam in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, [illegible], in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alquntam*'s *[illegible]*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *kusiut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *[illegible]* *Alquntam* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *kusiut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on [illegible].

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *kusiut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *kusiut* named *[illegible]* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *[illegible]*'s house.

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[178]

VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *kusiut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[101]

Long ago there lived in *[illegible]* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

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[101] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her 424
crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *lxahilta*. As the 796 *
kukusiut are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the
evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display 787
it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips.

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. [522]
The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability [776] ●
is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied.

Sis'msta, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the 424
action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is 575 *
limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can 796 *
be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main
ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a 787
rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched 831
at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass
behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat 522
time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre-

424 slowly he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the performer's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
*796 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient. Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
831 hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
522 time the owner draws his power to himself and the main ceremony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
● [776] beings above perform *sisʼauk*.

THE DEATH OF A *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
966 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
987 there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

538*

[115]

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; [illegible], [illegible], leader, Jim Pollard, [illegible] and [illegible], assisted by [illegible] Charlie [illegible] and [illegible].

(b) Meaning: He is about to display an ancient right; this song was used at a potlatch.

(c) That is: Echo is pleased. This supernatural being was used as [illegible].

[776]

(d) Echo is said to display a proud and [illegible] disposition by trying to imitate the voices of others.

(e) That is: Human beings.

(f) Echo.

(g) That is: In his pride he is trying to imitate the voice of a great chief.

Song of [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I am angry, | I shall presently display

[illegible](b) | *[illegible]*
the water that was brought down | by him(c) who came down(d).

[wordless chorus] (e)

B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Were ready for | *[illegible]*(f) | his dishes(g).

[illegible]
It was sometimes as large as a pond(h).

[wordless chorus]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A figurative expression for olachen grease.

(c) Referring to one of the dancer's ancestors, a chief who descended to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

(d) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

(e) The wordless chorus consists of an oft-repeated [illegible] which is said to be the note of the pigeon. The singer was unaware of its application.

(f) *[illegible]* was a chief who, in the beginning of time, came down midway between Kimsquit and [illegible].

(g) That is: Dishes, carved in form of his crest, were awaiting *[illegible]* on his arrival.

(h) A reference to the great abundance of olachen grease.

Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
They(b) will come to receive | my valuable goods(c) | which *[illegible]*(d)

[illegible]
brought down.

[wordless chorus]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(c) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth, one of his forefathers succeeded in drowning a rival chief. 533*

(d) Many origin myths describe beings provided by *Alquntam* for the first people, which [illegible] of their own access to [illegible] goods or privileges. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773]

Song Used for Ḳusi of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Brace yourselves for it, | ye residents! | See which is our supernatural being(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
At the bottom(c) | the first ancestor(d) | rested himself | of our provided food(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. *Ḳusi* was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) That is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Alquntam*.

Song Used for Ḳusi of Kimsquit (a)

A or B(b) [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Go out and see, | ye residents! | It is apparent(c)

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
what travels everywhere(d), | what brings our food(e) | from its home(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible](g) | [illegible]
That is | the chief | [illegible], | he carries a heavy burden(h)

[illegible] | [illegible]
in his canoe | from his land.

[776
424]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *[illegible]* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

553 (d) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's [illegible].
776 (e) Another arrogant reference to the [illegible].
(f) In Bella Bella.
424 (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him in ceremonies comes from a [illegible] ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit [illegible](a)

A *[illegible]*	[illegible]	[illegible]
Protect your faces,	you guest people!	It always shooting arrows

[illegible]
my wasp(b).

[illegible]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest ancestors; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *kusiut* compositions.

424 825 773 (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first ancestors was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *[illegible]*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

551 424 (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A *[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	[illegible]*pásals*
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

Nusákámq Songs

The texts of *nusákámq* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 593* [194]

Song Used for [illegible](a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

[illegible]	*[illegible]*
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[[illegible] CHORUS]

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*wo nai yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	wo nai yai(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusákámq* rite. [551]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *kusiut* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]

(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.

(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [535]

(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin.

(c) As in many *nusákámq* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 425.

Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit Man(a)

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*sqolánops*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*maoutc*	*maoutc*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

[776] [192]

583 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.

[776] (b) Presumably a reference to [illegible], the dancer's facial pattern(?).

[142] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "then."

(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

583 585 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:

A. Those used at weddings;

B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.

[582] [578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuie Marriage Song(a)

[illegible]	*yao [illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Danced for joy	Qwlaiyu(b)	when they brought
[illegible]	*yao [illegible]*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

[773] [424] (b) *Qwlaiyu* came down with *[illegible]* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Alquntäm*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuie*.

[773] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiyu's* associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sak'[illegible]	*yao [illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They sent down	*Xomtsla(b)*	with his relative
yao [illegible]		
Qwlaiyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

533*

siatɬiyaktəminandax | *Tlsamika'lis* | *Tlnlpləmainandax*
all, everywhere, know of | *Tlsamika'lis*(*w*). | They(*f*) crossed repeatedly

yas aldutswitsdax
to *Tsamat*(*gg*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Ḳwai*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tlitkwatila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tlitkwatila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Ḳwinas*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Ḳwinas*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Ḳwinas* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Ḳwai* were addressing *Ḳwinas*.

(*n*) Referring to *Ḳwinas*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Ḳwinas*'s origin myth. [776] [821]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Ḳwinas* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Wathu* brought. *Wathu*, another of *Ḳwinas*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Wathu* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ɛr·wanisa*, another of *Ḳwinas*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ɛr·wanisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Ḳwinas*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[776] (*bb*) That is: *Tlaliaki'lak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *ƺuinao*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tlaomika'lis*, and *Tlaliatlis*, and of herself.

(*cc*) *ƺomoqmo*'s house, a reference to an incident in *ƺuinao*'s ancestral myth.

(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tlaomika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinupatl(a)

A *Yao kā'ātmaiusdimqudax*	*dānulaldaitmk'ldils*	*yao ālālskadaimadaox*
They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach

yao alditamuniqudstax	*dafukdjudjimultsidax*	*dualnulipāmāthmdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kaxambalam itmālnn*	*aiyamasmaiustalmls*	*ālustālainaaskidax*
I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was

dāsaltutiya-mskidax	*pdanunufunm ālstskidax*	*aiyalāmtsai'aisudax*
in the time	of the *Nunufsmāls*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmaltualummnusimk*ʷ	*dāsqwnutamsitānaalandax*	*stāmindjultsid*
Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	

Aiyadasmānaiysmx	*stālilsikdimat skidax*	*aiyamathu udax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*Wathu*.

Sitlkiyukldinlandax	*dānu'aspta āmkldal*	*aiyattmin ukdil*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *Wathu* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinupatl* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Wathu* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yal'aslain*, where *Wathu* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

*533
756

B *[illegible]* They(*g*) sang	*[illegible]* over my wash-basin(*h*);	*[illegible]* they all watched over

[illegible]
my shaman's power(*i*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* Became open	*[illegible]* the place of shaman's power(*j*);	*[illegible]* there I saw

Tłimaplilaa·alsaic
Tłimaplilaa·a.

(*a*) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Tłimaplilaa·a* about 1830. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(*d*) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753]
[776]

(*e*) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Tłimaplilaa·a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

(*f*) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(*g*) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Ninitsamlaic* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(*h*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Ninitsamlaic* had the ability to cure the sick.

(*i*) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(*j*) The reference is to *Nusmät·a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Ninitsamlaic* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Tłimaplilaa·a* to rescue him.

[551]

Song Used by [illegible](a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]

A *[illegible]* It waved up and down	*[illegible]* *Song*(*c*)	*[illegible]* when they(*d*) sang	*[illegible]* of salmon(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* They(*f*) placed eagle down	*[illegible]* within the wash-basin(*g*)	*[illegible]* where I was(*h*);

[illegible]
he(*i*) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* 599
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*j*) | when it stood up 756

[illegible]
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*k*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *kusiut* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'is* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *[illegible]* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Tlitcaplitana* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *[illegible]*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitcaplitana*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Tlitcaplitana* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

Song Used by [illegible](a), a Kimsquit Man(b) [551] [776]

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *aialuciast*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *aialuciast*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *aialuciast*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 583
756
[551]
[776]

(a) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *Tlitcāplilān·a* were speaking.

(d) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(e) Referring to *Nusmāt·mālosaix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(f) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Tlitcāplilān·a* herself does this.

(g) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xımxımoslaix, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A *[illegible]*	*walukwalāltumānl*	*nuyālyikltumāntals*
All(b) have given me	the power of a shaman;	give me mental strength

[illegible]
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]*	*aiyadiseyo·nẍʷ tudai*	*dimntnaqwsam·ālisandats*
They opened	Songʷ;	they saw me

[illegible](c)
as they passed down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(d):

(a) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(b) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(c) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(d) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nunutsmımkmem(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Yaa [illegible]*	*aituminulsan*	*xtān·itsamnuxils*	*skusiutalsdja*
Hail! Mortals,	I(c) repeat(d);	I give life,	I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*533 (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

756 (*b*) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ālkusiyuotem, a Bella Coola Woman(*a*)

Ānusukḳomaltualduks	*aiyamaseyo·ny"als*	*dasosqwiainudim*	*dikusiutdai*
Laughed	*Song*"(*b*)	when they(*c*)started	my rite as shaman(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Ḳaitstukwlao
See how wretched I am(*e*).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(*b*) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(*c*) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(*d*) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(*e*) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kusiyot, a Bella Coola Woman(*a*)

Snsnvākila	*Snsnxākila*	*dimānslsudal*	*xaosi*
The sun(*b*),	the sun,	is our father	(*c*)?

The rest of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821] (*b*) This is the sun's name as chief.

● [776] (*c*) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

[788] (*d*) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kusiyot* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Tlitcāplilān·a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snāẋom.*, Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

*533 (*i*) The exact interpretation of this word may be inaccurate; the reference is to the masked figures which will presently appear.

(*j*) Plural.

(*k*) *Bänbänqwaiya* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being. The Bella Coola do not profess to understand this allusion which, they say, is quite contrary to their own usage. The implication is that the *haahao* actually exist within *Bänbänqwaiya*.

Song Used for Ɫlsiqwam, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(*a*)

A *Wasukhälrwanuditsals* | *aiyamasyo ng*ʷ *suals* | *äbüsaskaieslomdax* |
Was like a hurricane | *Song*ʷ(*b*) | when his(*c*) face projected

dänuskäxmnuleltsdax
and made me cry out(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sanunusmmlaixdumq'dax* | *dadwantanakainupälsdax* | *Diäsklsämkulilstulidals* |
Sanunusmmlaix(*e*) | has taught me(*f*). | My parents are preparing to

wanunuqwiutsmamlals
distribute goods(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasäläticimnulits* | *yao naskäsiutsta* | *wasiqfslpämnimutstldums*
I was close to | the repository | when it opened and taught me

alldikalkal-atlmilsdai
what I should presently do.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 13a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: *Song*ʷ was like a hurricane.

(*c*) Referring to the dancer's patron.

(*d*) That is: Made me cry out in the manner of Scratch dancers. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these two subdivisions.

●[776] (*e*) A supernatural being who scratches in the land above.

(*f*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation and is accordingly worded as if he were speaking and describing his experiences.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

Song Used for Alimalmalaix, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(*a*)

A *Sawasaiksämälsandjn* | *wasinainlunutslumdai* | *diaiyantcainupätslstaix*
It was long ago | that they(*b*) made ready, | that they changed,

dänuskxämnupaltsdai
my scratcher's cry(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

533*

B *Sälsamtänamlimdai*	*yao naskäsiutsta*	*yao pdiältyamtäladjas*
He(*d*) sat down above	the repository;	that is whence came(*e*)

diälfwantälimaxldjais
my inspiration(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skämälqalitusaiyaipeldai*	*aiatimaiyens·adai*	*däsyalläkainalim*
The face had just become angry	of his father(*g*);	it was too much(*h*)
yao di·tsqälastmamldai	*alits·iäkänakaipas*	*aldilixwnimatqadai*
when he scratched;	he went away to a	man of placid temperament(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 14a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.

(*c*) A reference to the peculiar cry used by all Scratch dancers. The phraseology is intentionally obscure.

(*d*) The dancer's patron.

(*e*) That is: It was he who taught.

(*f*) In the sense of: What enabled me to perform.

(*g*) That is: His father's face had just become angry on account of the excessive scratching. *His father* refers to *Alquntäm*, father of *Snu'alnkls Alquntäm*, the patron of Scratch dancers. The theme declares that *Alquntäm* was annoyed at the superabundant zeal of his son. [776]

(*h*) In the sense of: It was more than he could bear.

(*i*) The meaning of these two subdivisions is problematical.

Song Used for 'Nūx-anta-a(a) a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(b)

[424]

A *Nusikmälstumilaka*	*omätatsamalimlaix*
There is violent talking above where(*c*)	the patrons are meeting;
djaqalaiyainalimlaix	*disissiakaltamlaix*
they give too much(*d*)	to the one that is hidden(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Pats·atcltamilaka*	*dänuskaqqmamkitsdai*	*däsnalikwainalimdai*
Is increasing	the crying(*f*);	return to him

däkmak'kam·itsdai
his cedar-bark ornaments(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Dipaspankainaldänals*	*snalanmdimatlals*
He(*h*) rushes around too much(*i*)	those left are troubled(*j*)
dasgalakainalimlaix	*alsnatsimikldamals*
when too much	is the talking above(*k*).

Fourth Song Used for Smmákaʼks, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a) 533*

A Skamálkuptstaiyuimuts | *yao tcikusiutlsai* | *áhtpemáisimnalimk*
Has now recovered | the *kusiut* woman(b), | after they(c) exposed

nucilkamistalz
the heavy burden(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ximiqu toldumilcitu | *dimnalnaks amalandas* | *dálkaftsmemqadai*
There is light at the edge(e), | looks down | the much revered

amlatlakilaxadai
Moon(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Waskilalal aipalstais | *dikusiutstmnascumk* | *duxlatcamkuram alisdai*
They(g) become frightened | of that *kusiut*(h) | whenever he displays

diqaqalimqaxlais
his blackened face(i).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 50, National Museum of Canada; trio, *Tal'ia* Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(b) That is: The *kusiut* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously strickin when the power first came, before she knew what was required of her.

(c) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(d) Referring to the Fungus.

(e) Referring to the edge of *Sony*".

(f) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [776] ●

(g) Referring to all *kukusiut*, human as well as supernatural.

(h) Referring to Moon.

(i) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *kusiut* dance. [776] [821]

Song Used for Salymás, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A Sátalkimotsowit | *yuilkmstánálam* | *alikapslimatstup'*
Stand firm and be brave, | mortals(c), | when you guess(d)

dikakals'stumldai
its place of concealment(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*598 B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]uals*
Observe(*f*) the supernatural being | where my thoughts are centred;

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
becomes hidden | my place of power(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]uskxitsdai*
No one can contradict the words of | my pattern(*h*);

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
it is the unsolvable mystery | of *[illegible]*(*i*).

(*a*) That is: *Ālmatsām*.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 41a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) The words are addressed to the uninitiated whom the dancer pretends to regard in the same light as supernatural beings regard mortals.
(*d*) This song was used on one of the occasions when people were called upon to guess the hiding place of the dancer's power.
(*e*) That is: The place where my power is hidden.
(*f*) An invitation not to be taken literally.
(*g*) That is: My place of power becomes hidden. The implication is that the supernatural beings have carefully concealed it among themselves.
(*h*) The being from whom the dancer has obtained his inspiration.
(*i*) *Nusadjunastem* is another designation for *Ālquntām*.

[776]

Song Used for Ā[illegible], a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *yao gdisikaloxsmdip*
I am grateful to | *[illegible]*(*c*); | you(*d*) have succeeded in guessing(*e*)

[illegible]
the hiding-place of my power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *yao [illegible]* | *shāaoltxwesam-alisdai*
They(*f*) called upon | *[illegible]* | to drone(*g*)

[illegible]
for the shaman-like one(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) That is: *Ālmatsām*.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 40a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1910 at Kimsquit.
(*c*) A supernatural being who gives inspiration.

[776]

(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*

(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Ánuqwmtnikmm.*

(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.

(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.

(*h*) The reference is to *Sno'olxults Álquntäm*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sno'olxults Álquntäm* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitsmän·a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A *Skämälnutwinmutsals*	*didaxdakän·äldai*	*sipäyaotcam·ällsandai*
I have just heard	it(*c*) coming down;	it changes its voice

äläolsälolilals
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Stixwotsamlimilsika*	*dikusiutstenaosuals*	*yao skäoskimänldisdai*
They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sawaqulxwailals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Saälkktmaxlamilsika*	*wakäläłxwoläłtimats*	*däsnustkik'limlsandai*
Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

dinutsgmälsdimutldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Täl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) Referring to the call.

(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.

(*e*) Referring to Thunder.

(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]

(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773]

(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Song Used for Älamtci, a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

*533 A *Istäxkilikämälalutsduks* | *yas täsixwin·imut·alsdax* | *altasiłnuwasamlals äldxwaltuwal·itsals*

I cannot tell whence comes what(*c*) I hear, I cannot tell where it is; there is nothing but fog above, I am in trouble(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Alqwalxwekmem·akudai* | *sä·lanşkämdimutdasdai* | *dinunuqumlaixdusdai yaiyulätimutsudai*

The hands of everyone helped *Yulätimut*(*e*) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself; all wanted him to do the same for them(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Sononstkäxk·ımälimqwdai* | *diyaiyexdimutdasdai* | *diälpikmelosdusdai*
Is moving again | the fire-holder(*g*), | it is being shaken by

saiutlaikilasudai
Thunder (*h*).

● [776] (*a*) *Älamtci* has two patrons, Thunder and *Yulätimut*. During the winter of 1923-4 he was initiated into the *kusiut* society as a Thunder dancer; in the following
*[575] song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to *Yulätimut*.
*[796] (*b*) Recorded as song VII D 51, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Täl·ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Täl·ia* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) Referring to the call.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) One of the dancer's patrons.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

[776] (*g*) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow
[821] rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all directions.

*[575] (*h*) The dancer's second patron.

*[796] *Fragment of a Song Used for Nuxnäx·mälosaix, a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)*

A *Qis·kwatstätimotilox* | *Aiyawastwinutsmim*
Why is there no name(*b*)? | Each(*c*) speaks proudly of himself(*d*);

dinulqwtamilsandai | *stciqwaltayasudai*
they use as house posts(*e*) | their shin-bones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

593*

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 11b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This was incorrectly announced on the record as a shaman's song.

(*b*) The meaning of this is problematical. Ghost dancers habitually deride the dead and this is certainly a veiled allusion of a derogatory nature.

(*c*) Referring to ghosts.

(*d*) That is: Each uses the kind of grandiloquent language employed by chiefs.

(*e*) More specifically, the two uprights nearest the front-door.

[195]

Song Used for Qomcua, a Bella Coola Sun Dancer(*a*)

A *Sawāskāmaiutslaoals* | *waaiyalilaxastai* | *sāoaolīwotl·amalit* |
The two | *Aiūlāxa*(*b*) | drone in unison when

yao dimaxlimatomdai
he(*c*) enters(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ālkapākmem·āqodai* | *diponponilamatemdai* | *lalitmaxlimatomdai* |
All(*e*) watch as he draws near at the time they called him(*f*); is waiting(*g*) |

dās·amnamlkānidusdai
his salmon blanket(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Shāmālamtainulim* | *yao dilqwalst'liwalisandai*(*i*) | *olditsākānikstāsdai*
They invite the lofty one to place himself(*j*) | on his seat;

aiannxālotladai
hail, *Sinxālotla*(*k*).

(*a*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The patron of the dancer, a woman, is *Sinxālotla*, the name of *Ālquntām* as Sun.

[776]

(*b*) Referring to the two *Aiūlāxa* who drone daily as sun and moon travel.

(*c*) Referring to *Sinxālotla*.

(*d*) That is: When he enters *Nusmāt·a* at the winter solstice to join the gathering of the supernatural beings. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*f*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings before the winter solstice.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these three subdivisions.

(*h*) That is: His salmon blanket is waiting. The reference is to *Ālquntām*'s blanket with salmon on its lining.

[776]

(*i*) When the song was first used, this subdivision consisted of a repetition of the second subsection of the second part. This was considered poor technique and the phrasing was altered for later occasions.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.

(*k*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Snuyaxlikwan-a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 *A Ānuximnalitsduks* | *wa'āluskālzu-itsals* | *sa-nāmhshm-alimdai*
disiālqapstailaixgas

There was light above me when they(*d*) opened the very powerful thing for me(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Łakwālsdutsmlimilzhu | *dixgayawa-kqmlimdai*
Loud voices(*f*) are discussing his(*g*) multitudinous works(*h*);

dāsnudpānlānamldumdai | *disnuslkākstinilsandai*
when he stirred sunwise | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(*i*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Was-smkwalmmqudu | *ska'alpālpaluslaixus* | *dālqmlxas-sm-itpals*
yālsmayaikilasuals

Smaiaikila(*j*) and his associates are immortal; they guard life. In the beginning of time they created *Alpālpaloslaix*(*k*).

[551] [424] (*a*) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.

[776] (*b*) According to a strict definition, *Snuyaxlikwan-a* is not a Sun dancer. Her patron is *Alquntām*, but she does not refer to him as *Snxālatla*, Sun, but as *Smaiaikila*.

(*c*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*d*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*f*) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Referring to *Smaiaikila*.

(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.

[424] (*i*) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *kusiut* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom.

(*j*) The dancer's patron.

[776] (*k*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. *Alpālpaloslaix* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive mortals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being.

Song Used for Alqunaiosmmlaix, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A Yao istāsqomnuqālsduks | *dislulutsdimutlisandai* | *yao olā'āmalsoals* |
I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it described(*b*) |

somatsiutsuals
the descending supernatural being(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

533*

B *Aiahksiptsmälslsandja*	*alhidäk-änatldai*	*dikilsmomätsatsldai*
I was not good enough(*d*)	when came to me	my patron;

nmpsmstipusmmatllsndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Waspatlnuilsts-liiamälnks*	*ämätmdjs-amälimdai*	*diqatlqatlimdjadai*
No one passed outside his house(*e*)	within sight	when blackened his face

enllatlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

533*
[575]✗
[796]✗
[535]

Song Used for Kasrulän-i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A *Alaiaxsalsqadax*	*yas dafitsyamyamdax*	*sawäskpäkstnamsdax*
It has always been so,	it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	all see it

*533

yao daasiutldax
when the supernatural one comes down(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*e*)

B *Waskexäs·ämäqodax* | *was·izayawak'mitsdax* | *däs·tabosainulidsdai*
He(*f*) is pleased at what I have been doing, I have exposed to him the thing of

dainutzamisqodai | *diälukxailaildusdai* | *yao Älquntaiämsudai*
great worth(*g*); in like fashion calls his people(*h*) | *Älquntäm*(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 27a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) Referring to the otter.

(*c*) That is: It is blameless. The meaning is obscure.

(*d*) A reference to the catching, by the dancer, of the figure of an otter, a spectacle watched by all.

(*e*) The wordless chorus is unusually long.

(*f*) Referring to the otter.

(*g*) Presumably referring to the rite in which the figure of an otter is used; the whole part is practically unintelligible.

(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these five subdivisions.

(*i*) That is: *Älquntäm* summons his followers just as I have called you. The unusual lengthening of this part, combined with an apparently illogical mention of *Älquntäm*, suggests that the last two subdivisions may be relics of a former third part.

Song Used for Anuximälos, a Bella Coola Bark-Beater(a) Dancer(b)

A *Izaltsitcäloisandja* | *yao skänuszänmiklduts* | *dälkak·imolätimutisandai* *dinuälältcimälsldulsdai*
The one(*c*) who was talking so vociferously to us was so excessively happy that I almost curbed his mirth(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Was·älgyuts·ım·älimkʷ'* | *aiadisiutas* | *was·nuno·yonlim*
They(*e*) alone heard | the song | they practised

äläqulxwaixdilals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Smınlätaqs·ımälim* | *sawa'omomätuts* | *tcispixpixkımmäus* | *aiasınxälotla*
Counts his work(*g*) | the patron(*h*), | the Bark-Beater | of *Sınxälotla*(*i*)

[776]

(*a*) The dancer's patron was the supernatural Bark-Beater.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 11a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed about 1900 and has since been used repeatedly. It was employed during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

533*

(*c*) Refers to a supernatural being.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.

(*e*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*f*) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.

(*g*) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.

(*h*) That is: The patron counts his work.

(*i*) The supernatural Bark-Beater was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for Anuximān·a, a Female Bella Coola Carpenters'(*a*)*Dancer*(*b*)

A *Istaiastam·ilsika* | *was·ansdjakum·idsudals* | *wasxuql·ākm·alisandja*

When I was bold and head-strong(*c*), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place of(*d*)

alāpāxotlamaqoals

dreaded power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sālusdjpmānltominils* | *gdinunuqwiutsmmidai* | *xudisiāslakālos·aixas*

Nunuqwiutsmm(*e*) placed eagle down upon my head; for that reason the carpenters(*f*)

gdisnuquxkstimut·aoals

made light(*g*) for me(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Samonskāmdimutqwdudai* | *yeyulātimutstudai* | *xidjisqwalxwtnām·āmkidals*

Long ago(*i*) | *Yulātimut* | made this rite unaided,

aiatcim·us·ānaoals

the child(*j*).

[776]

(*a*) Her patrons were the four supernatural carpenters.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 26a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation; the text describes her experiences for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*e*) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learnt.

[776]

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*g*) In the sense of: Provided illumination.

(*h*) That is: The carpenters showed me the way to power.

(*i*) In the beginning of time.

(*j*) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk as a puppet at this dance. No further information could be obtained.

[532]

Song Used for Sinuximätl, a Female Bella Coola Kusiut Dancer(*a*)

*533

A *Ixilkexamnulitsduks* | *sa·wam·sntaiysltsuals* | *yao skakitsamaqolsa* *dikäsiutainulils*

My path was both crooked and erratic when I searched for a supernatural being(*b*), when I finally succeeded(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Änuqaotsmaqo* | *yao nuskäsiutsta* | *disiuxstsmnulitsdai* *dikitlmsntaiämlitsdai*
I was stationed firmly above | the repository; | at times it was hidden, there was no road(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skämälkumkmmlsndai* | *dinunuqwiutsmmldai* | *ye·sqwiqotsainulisdax* *disiälsmlaipaals*
Pounded with his stick | *Nunuqwiutsmm*(*e*); | he succeeded in opening it(*f*), and light appeared.

(*a*) There are so many *kusiut* dances that it was manifestly impossible to obtain details of them all. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used at the initiation of *Sinuximätl* during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The neophyte, a mere infant, did not dance and no information was obtained concerning the proper conduct of the rite. Her patron was the supernatural being, *Nunuqwiutsmm*.

● [776]

(*b*) This being an initiation song, those who are not members of the society are regaled with an account of the alleged experiences of the neophyte.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*d*) These assertions are not to be taken literally; they are all for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*e*) That is: *Nunuqwiutsmm* pounded with his stick. He is the dancer's patron.

(*f*) Referring to the repository.

Song Used for Änudakänuts, a Bella Coola Kusiut(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A *Yao sxstäs·tcäloqoidji* | *sihilkän·ildilsals* | *wa'alaimaqoals* *yao itäno'likwolsaix*

When I was an uninitiated person(*c*), I used to wonder what *Äno'likwolsaix* was like, but I was entirely wrong(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Änulkamix*ʷ'*maqo* | *yao nuskäsiutsta* | *sikpäkdimutlaaals* | *wanunukwiutsnamlals*
It(*e*) is hanging beneath the roof of | the repository; | everything is open to me, my limbs have opened it(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasiqwiltsamtinkya* | *ăldiqwatinusamdai* | *yaa disma'ayulnitsi* 533*
I fear the coming | figure(*g*), | hail *Sna'olnilts*

yaa Ălquntaiămsudai
Ălquntăm(*h*).

(*a*) [illegible] song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of a[illegible] into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's patron is *Sna'olnilts Ălquntăm*, whose protégés are usually Scratch or Breaker dancers, but *Anudahănuts* has neither of these prerogatives. [776]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 49, National Museum of Canada; trio, Reuben Schooner, *Tol'io* Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as announcer. This song was composed by Reuben Schooner.

(*c*) The theme is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the uninitiated whose ranks he has just left.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*e*) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object imbued with it.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, forced open the repository.

(*g*) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Kusiut MOURNING SONGS

533*
765
575*
[766]

Several prominent *kukusiut* died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *kusiut* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the *kusiut* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *kusiut* and mourning songs: [177] 533*

*533 (*a*) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl-ie* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tāl-ie* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Ḳomtsalwala*.

(*c*) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

[773] (*e*) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nuxḳalst*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nuxḳalst* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Smoky* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(*f*) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*g*) That is: *Ḳomtsalwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*h*) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(*i*) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(*j*) That is: *Ḳomtsalwala*.

(*k*) That is: *Sisauimdsats* welcomed *Ḳomtsalwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(*l*) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

● [776] *Song Used for Lilimumlaix(a), Combined with Mourning for Ḳomtsalwala(b)*

A *Aiyailaixdimatḳlsandai* | *ixfuxfuxpumlaixfudax* | *sawastixiwalmaistax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(*c*) | who brings what puts

yas ditsaitsaiyatsleipas
an end to all our grief(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Āltsiahamlimalsha* | *daxtlhmpayakaldax*
He(*e*) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(*f*);

ḳlansaikw-ilwaidax | *yatsālmaxḳlaiyasadai*
now he stands upon | *Tsākmaḳlax*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] C *Skāsuamtaiālxiqudax* | *sawatsālwaḳlal-dadax* | *skāsuaḳlals-minqulsandix*
Sits down within | the expansible house(*h*) | *Suaḳlals*(*i*)

asitsaaḳlamdimatsadai
on *Sitsaaḳlamdimat*(*j*).

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [776] This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Q̣omānakwala*.

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Q̣omānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusq̣alst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Q̣omānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusq̣alst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Q̣omānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusq̣alst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

NON-CEREMONIAL SONGS

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. [825] Some deal with love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[1]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. 533* Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 892 424

[1] [See ext. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

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A Song in Mixed Carrier(a)–Bella Coola(b)

sekurman-i	*sekurman-i*	*nomätsold(je*	*senarman-i*
sekurman-i(c),	*sekurman-i,*	?(d)	?

akaialdalco	*akaialdalco*	*akaialdalco*
?	?	?

nufemo	*sekurman-i*
the very hairy pudenda	*sekurman-i(e).*

(a) It is uncertain whether this song was derived *from* the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior.

(d) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(e) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *sekurman-i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

[776]
[821]

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

adi	*tcecode*
Knife,	none at all.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near
the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free
themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and
steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the
[628] villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the
help of *Qomqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was
no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
● [776] this town attributed their protection to *Alquntäm*, and used
to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions,
were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade
of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a
water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring
to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders,
armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled
in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of
their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such
statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[623] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one
whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

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[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his 727
arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s 787
strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukätco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal.

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart 727
man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity.

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *uxlokwaladjut* on this occa- 754
sion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called
upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for [776]
generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal
hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in [683]
the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took

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B
754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the
● only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had
promised to come to *Xnutli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly
to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his
B protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
[789] danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing
over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the
earth. There was a furious hurriçane; trees were uprooted, houses shook,
B the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
[789] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the
cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the
648 Kimsquit and *Täl·io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed
Qolxweliotl, a brother of *Potles*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man
[622] whose name was as well known as that of *Potles*, *Nukāpinkam* of Fort
Rupert, or *Tcibusa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect
them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were
justly angry.

B A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
T Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated,
648 and returned to *Qomqo·ts* with news that the occupants were
Kitkatla, and that *Tcibusa* himself was among them. At once there was
728 heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had
lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
B others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked
T through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
[726] answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin,
a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts,
a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B

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[787] [8] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably [556] there have been instances in which an individual possessing much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] [776] Many of the first type describe the adventures and misadventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

*539

RAVEN STORIES

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ălquntăm* told *Mătlăbălitcak* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ălquntăm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[3]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. 539* 821 While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold.

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[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Snunq STORIES

538 776

Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *snunq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *snunq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

538 can be removed at will, and the Bella Coola relate how, long
•776 ago, the inhabitants of a village captured one of these. Cruelly, they placed it at the top of a lofty tree, then carefully smoothed off the bark to make climbing virtually impossible. The unfortunate *snınıq* tried repeatedly to scale the tree, amid the mockings of its human tormentors; at last it succeeded in doing so, whereupon it dashed off, happily, with its basket.

Less dangerous than the *snınıq* is the creature known as *po·qwais*, differing only from the true *snınıq* in having a band of white through its eyes. A third variety, *snınıqos wa sımdäs*, the mountain *snınıq*, remains perpetually above the line of vegetation. Little is known of it.

The most dangerous is a true *snınıq* with the genital organs of a woman on its forehead. This creature is able to reverse the course of streams, to cause light snow to fall, and even to raise up mountains when pursued. A hunter meeting one of these monsters is in deadly danger unless he calls it by its name, *splıx*, female genitalia. So doing will cause the animal to lose its power and grovel and writhe impotently on the ground.

Like all other supernatural animals, the *snınıq* is believed to have only recently quitted the vicinity of Bella Coola, on account, so it is said, of the noise made by the rifles of the white man. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of the animals, though several state that they have heard them not many years ago. It is assumed that the *snınıq* has migrated to some less populated area, probably to the region north of Dean Channel and east of Frederick Island.

The following stories, which are among the most popular in Bella Coola, illustrate the characteristics of the *snınıq*.

*539

THE GRAVE ROBBER[44]

Long, long ago, there was a large Bella Coola town[45] on the White-

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[44] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 86.

[45] Other informants stated that the village was *Stuıx*.

524

Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the hooks of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on hooks of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers; bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

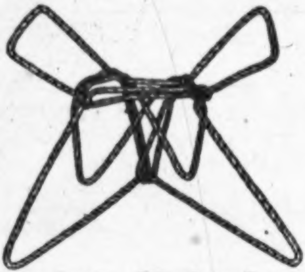

FIG. 22. "The *Sninq*."

This shows the *sninq*; with thumbs gently depress the two pendant loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[11]

Nutpulqals·ksamç	*xätskaitl*	*nupäxotlä yalsuqsnu.*
Reverse your eyeballs,[12]	it is too dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

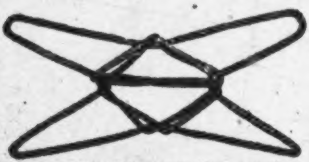

FIG. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *sninq* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[13]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Stsiqumaç	*Qwax*	*ältu smn·ntwa·als.*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

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[11] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded as song VII D 25b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[12] This refers to the belief that the *sninq* projects death-dealing rays from its eyes.

[13] No explanation is offered for the association between a *sninq* and Raven's hammer.

[126]
[776]

614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ᴇnts*), of the crow, and of 532 the black bear.

342 The gens TumQoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnᴇstaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'ᴇ'lstᴇmʜ use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mʜ use the raven, robin (*aiʜ'a'qonē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ĕutlala* (genus ?), and *s'atlsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *uusqē'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'ᴇ'l has the name Smō'ᴇn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'kʜʜ surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE POTLATCH.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kʜ, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kʜ corresponds to the Tlōols'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsioa, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

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[532]
[575]

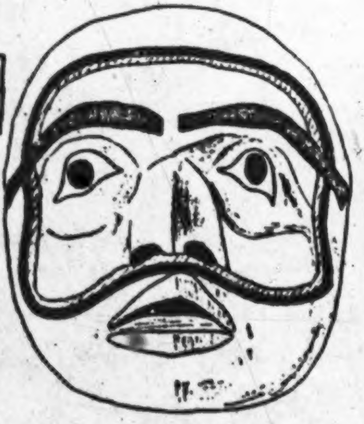

FIG. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsioa.

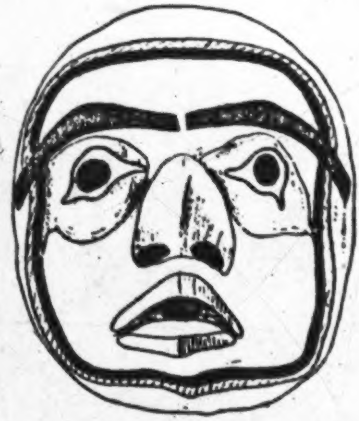

FIG. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs 556
representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kū'siūt these deities
make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. 773
Qē'mtsioa and Qēmqēmalā'otla wear the design of the full moon, indi- 776 ●
cated in the mask Qē'mtsioa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and
black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip.
Qēmqēmalā'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red out- 532
side, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkī'likya 575
(fig. 6) and Aiumalā'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent drawn 776

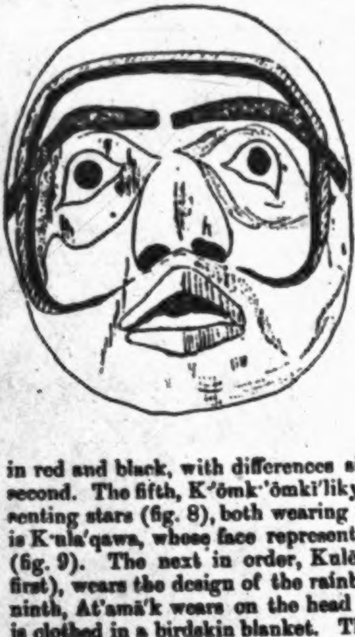

FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkī'likya.

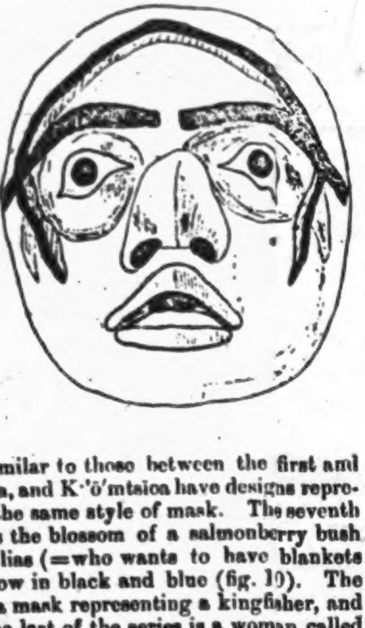

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalā'otla.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K·'ōmk·'ōmkī'likya, and K·'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K·ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lias (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amā'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ētsa'aplētlāna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisau'kH, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had 773
gone out hunting met the Sisau'kH, and was instructed by him in the
secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean 776
their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the Sisau'kH, and told the people what he had 796
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance
and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

575 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on,
●773 returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'kʜ.
776 Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

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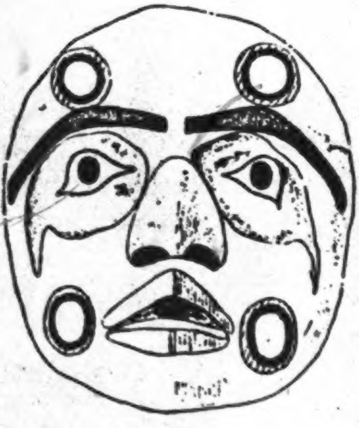

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K·'ōmk·'ōmkī'likya.

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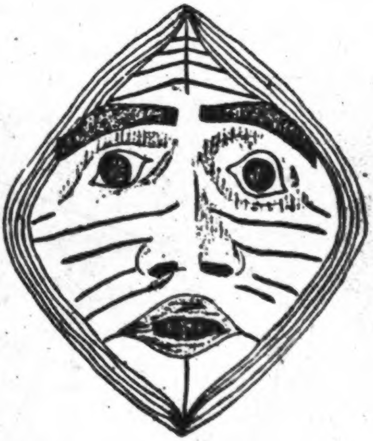

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K·ula'qawa.

614 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'kʜ
532 only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred possessions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved
[534] headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they
[292] Represent.

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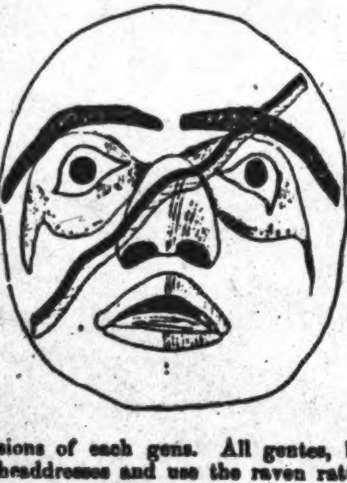

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulō'lias.

[575]
[776]

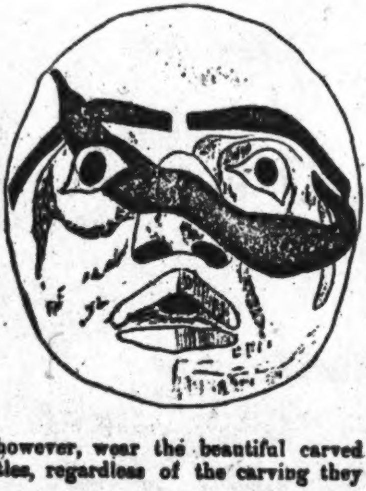

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tl'ētsā'aplōtlāna.

represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 532
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of 422
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs.
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become 556
Sisau'kʜ. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ᴇ- [567]
lu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is [848]
a member of the gens Ialo'stimōt of the Talio'mʜ, stated that he had
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siūt name, which
remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsioa name, which is changed 424
at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ᴇlu'sta's (which is his Kū'siūt name) 551
present Qē'mtsioa name is Atl'itlᴇmnᴇ'lus'aiʜ, but at his next potlatch he 556
intends to take the name of Kaliä'kis. These names are also the property
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of 575
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siūt names of the
ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsioa names have been ascertained 424
(see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kʜ secrets he will dis-
tribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of 614
their Sisau'kʜ secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kʜ
secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisau'kʜ carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his 426
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given
by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow
part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was
told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and
burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which
he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died,
and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'siūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikūtsai'ʜ. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the 773
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been
the first to find her. Anaūlikūtsai'ʜ invited her into her cave and taught 776

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575 her the secrets of the Kū'siūt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the
same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her
dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with
masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance
the Kū'siūt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and
sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the
Kū'siūt.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siūt. When a man has
575 seen Anaūlikūtsai'ᴇ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kū'siūt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his
house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the
evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to
the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the
taboo house. Each Kū'siūt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siūt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
614 as is the case with the Sisau'kᴇ dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who
[426] do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siūt is obtained through
an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siūt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siūt names,
which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other
[428] relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was
about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl.
I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation;
[556] it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same
way as the Sisau'kᴇ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to
perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siūt have to pass through a
religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ᴇlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lᴇq (the Nū'tlmatl of
the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntsistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These
grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siūt novice may acquire them at
once at his first initiation.

575 When the ᴇlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone
who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ᴇlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted
and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The
latter was killed, and the members of the ᴇlaqō'tla order devoured one-half
of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There
the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or
thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside
the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite 575
naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch
anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, [774]
which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the
shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after [756]
they have recovered it the ᴇlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and
wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red [292]
and white cedar-bark. Some ᴇlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely [301]
devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who
bite people will also eat corpses. The ᴇlaqō'tla has to observe a number
of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble.
He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being
reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his
house.

The Ō'lᴇq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go
into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their [785]
first dance. The Ō'lᴇq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people
with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household
goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he
pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlᴇq and the Dā'tia must stay
for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the 575
ᴇlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no
right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in 688
dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the
offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he
is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not
willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on
himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead.
The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches
the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him
in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman
is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human
hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood
collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and
with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested
any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in 575
the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. 532
Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a
whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, 796
and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others
the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tᴇnum, who wears a mask with
red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side [776]
to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines,
appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mtsioa and his
brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the
raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others.

CUSTOMS REGARDING BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house 844
and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely [171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sönq*, sun). 773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following 776 formulas: *Atlkun itlö'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlknallnomdö'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.' [782] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with [539] the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'cqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqēm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'cqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or [176] carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a [826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies [761] away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

[756]

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell 774
whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul 756
should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If
a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without [828]
breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a
sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape [753]
of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the [828]
owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain 756
it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring
tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a [776] ●
shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song
which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases.
If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and
tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this
method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my
informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may [171]
go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably
Mā'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a
way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft 753
(see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A 755
peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek·'a' of the
Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to 754
me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours
to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being
considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and
the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf [825]
is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the
clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person.
No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the 682
neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will 754
be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes
and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been
killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his
blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's [825]
hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put
into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of [777]
the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates
that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their 726
faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 714

751 Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
841 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hëiltsuk·. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
575 the name Aiumki'likya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
776 over the world.' K·'ōmk·'omki'likya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mā'lakyilatl (see p. 409)
771 belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Masmasalā'niq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'ē'nōq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Fillip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6] 114

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:— 114 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts 772 [776] [775]

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[113]

[1] Original-Mittheilungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1886, pp. 183-186.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.

[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-18; Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff, 1891, pp. 408-449.

[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-395.

[5] Ymer, Tidskrift utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi, 1894, pp. 187-208; 1895, pp. 1-33.

[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 281-306; 1895, pp. 189-195.

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsā'axʟ, or Snutx·ʟok·'a'ls ti Sōnx· t'aix·, or
[776] Sōnxaus. Omq'ō'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called Qamā'its, or Tsi sisnāaxʟ ("our woman"), or Ek·ᵘlyak·imtōʟa'ʟ ("afraid of nothing").

772
776 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsʟna'lōtas ti Sōnx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the si'siuʟ or xtsaltsalō'sɛm. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773
823 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height. They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamā'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yōlyulɛ'mʟ, which is situated near Nuʟ!ɛ'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sʟex·ʟēkoai'ʟ; the other one, Na'axʟ. The former had a fire, called Snutai'k·nimsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamā'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamā'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sʟex·ʟēkoai'ʟ. It is said that Qamā'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772
776 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sōnx·, stands the house of the gods. This house is named Nusmɛ'ta (the House of Myths), or Nusk!oaʟtnai'x·sta ("where man was created"), or Nusk·ʟaʟnɛ'msta ("the house from which people come down"), or Nusqulxoai'x·sta ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nuʟnē'k·ta. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

white crane (?), Qō'xōx, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the 772
house is Sanx, the Sun. He is also called Tā'ata ("our father"), or Smai'ya- 776
kila ("the sacred one"), or Smayalō'otla. It seems that he is the only
deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qamā'its, the
deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the 776
other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers 782
directed to the Sun. They are as follows:— 539

Atk'ts'itō'tamx Tātau'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tātau'! atk'ōts'vmdō'tx! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tātau'! tk'ultxomō'tx ala mountnt'a'ts! Tātau' asdp'alōmtaltx! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tsplon'mx Tātau'! k'ōt'lo'lxomimō'tx, Tātau'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ōmqa yōmtāmx, Tātau', ta mommo'ntuō, Smāyalōtlau'! ("Let your children look at me, Smayalōtla, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Nuqlamtk'l'mtsx Tātau'! anuqomak'ma'tō ti q!ayanemtnem'ai'x. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Nuqlamtk'l'mtsx Tātau'! ak'a saeqōnalontō'mx Tātau'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Nōnuqulamt'k'tuts ti mānutt'aix ak'a nōqlamtk'lmts ak'a pōtlus anosi'k'mdts'ats ak'tnk'ts ti aq!aitat'aix. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Thus I find what I wished for.")

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four 776
small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an
offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn 782
parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an
offering to regain health.

The second deity, who is called Atlk'untā'm, seems to be of equal im- 776
portance. Sanx and Atlk'untā'm stay in the rear of the House of Myths. [772]
Near the fire stays Sentlk'ulx'ā'ls. He is an old man who formerly ruled over

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and Aʟk'untä'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac- 773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on 776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Aʟk'untä'm's mother, Nunusōmik·ēeqone'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Aʟk'untä'm, the stake being the salmon. Aʟk'untä'm lost, and the man took the salmon down [826] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Aʟk'untä'm also gives to man the power to cure [755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their [772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the [794] Bella Coola which is called kū'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsā'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in [575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kū'siut is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kū'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths [532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths; therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Senx, Aʟk'untä'm, and Snitʟk'ulx'ä'ls. The functions of many of the 575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kū'siut. These deities and their 776 functions are as follows: Sx'sāk'tlal'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kū'siut. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sch-nik Kallat.[4] Nusme'nuq'als (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Sentn'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible], p. [illegible].
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible], p. [illegible].

corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets 575
of the kū'siut from approaching the house. The Snēnē'iq is a fabulous 776
monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). Nuntsla'mntsa'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kū'siut dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by Nuntsla'mntsa'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kū'siut dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anaqut'ōtsam is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Senx and Alk'untā'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Snitsma'na (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Aialilā'axa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from 575
sleep. Aialilā'axa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every 776
month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an
eclipse. The moon is called A'nō'laqalis (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is 821
produced by several deities called Aiq'oa'yosnam, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kū'siut, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Aialilā'axa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ea-kla-kel'-killa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kū'siut dancers. Snitsma'na and Aialilā'axa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kū'siut.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned 776
with the kū'siut, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of
the world. Important among these is K'ētētk'ua'm (Plate VII, Fig. 1). 842
Senx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'ētētk'ua'm. When Senx creates a new-born child, K'ētētk'ua'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Natsqumalsā'x or Smatsmā'tsaus Senxalā'naia places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Senx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Natsqumalsā'x might therefore be called the deity

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible]

[113]

776 having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the [342] cradle, she sings,—

[639]

"[illegible] an an an an.
Anyaxwō'k'ōs 'ans [illegible] a'yaxwa
[illegible] an an an an."

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nūnū'squ (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Snukpa'nLits. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months ascends the sky [821] moving towards the right; so that Snukpa'nLits, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nūnū'squ gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kakētsaai'tx, ala xmā'nuxs are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals [761] are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nutsekuni'lika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. ALk'untā'm has two children,—the deer, who is called Snuō'lExwaits ALk'untā'm, that is, "the foolish son of ALk'untā'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and LExmūsix'is ALk'untā'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sens and ALk'untā'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Masmasalā'nix or Ōtsōk·ō'natsEmx (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are MaLapā'lītsek· ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yulā'timot ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), MaL'apā'lītsek· ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and ILīLā'xalek·. They [772] have a sister called L'ā'quanātsa. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, 776
they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Masmasalā'nix gives them the idea which they are working out.

Sᴇnx has a daughter named Sp'ix'p'ik'ᴇnᴇ'm, who invented the art of [575]
working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kū'siut ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omatōsē'k', who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Aʟētx siāya'ltxau ti Omatōsē'k'stix'" ("Bring to me Omatōsē'k'"). [539]
After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aʟētx siāya'ltxau ta tqᴇnk'ʟts" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aʟētx snukpānʟai'ts ti sp'ē'k'tsts." Finally she asks for/cedar-bark, saying, "Aʟētx k'ʟōlʟōlᴇmx'laix' ti sp'ē'k'ᴇmtᴇx'." Then she begins to work, singing,—

"Ē'sis atk'x'uuwe't ds'tmo't'emta la lau's [539]
Ē'sis aisand'ts tsi Sp'ix'p'ik'ina'mtas Sᴇnxalā'oʟla."

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of Sᴇnxalā'oʟla.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also 776
lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat 773
obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sᴇnx to our world to become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (aʟtk'u'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir.

It is also said that Masmasalā'nix attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particu- 776
larly concerned with the observations of the kū'siut ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1-9). The names of the brothers are, Xᴇmxᴇmalā'oʟla, Xē'mtsiwa, Omq'ᴇmk'l'lk'a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'ōʟala, Al'umk'l'lk'a, K'ilē'lias, Q'ulaxā'wa, A'l'mtk'ᴇ; and of their sister, ʟ'ētsā'apltʟāna. These deities are painted with 776
certain designs. Xᴇmxᴇmalā'oʟla and Xē'mtsiwa are painted with the de- 532
signs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'ᴇmk'l'lk'a and Q'ō'mtsiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Aimalā'ōʟala and Al'umk'l'lk'a, with the design representing the stars; K'ilē'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'ulaxā'wa, with the de-

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A'i'mäk· has the shape of a kingfisher; and ʟ'ētsā'aplēʟᴀna is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled 532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xēmxēmalā'oʟla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspō'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of Aʟk'untā'm.[1]

776 In one tradition ʟ'ētsā'aplēʟᴀna is described as visiting houses and stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has 773 wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his [114] arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k· ceremonial,[2] but this [575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kū'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named ʟlō'sta, in which the son of the deities lives. His name is Bā'ᴇxōʟla or Snupaaxoʟa'lt. 773 When Sᴇnx and Aʟk'untā'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them 776 past the door of Bā'ᴇxōʟla's room. The latter then rushes out of his room and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to [772] the tradition of the tribe Sᴇ'nxʟᴇmx·, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Bā'ᴇxōʟla came down to the mountain Sqtsʟ, where he met with the son of Sᴇnxalō'ʟᴇla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Bā'ᴇxōʟla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qamai'ts. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qamai'ts sitting in front of her house; and she said to Bā'ᴇxōʟla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible], p. [illegible].
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 8.

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie 575
until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed 773
down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qamā'its 776
said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamā'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamā'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xaᴇn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that 776
of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'sʟxᴇm, another son of the deities. His room is 575
called Nus'ō'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI).

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise [772]
is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx' t'aix' (Plate X, Fig. 2). [821]
He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k·

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kū'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance:—

[539]

> Nanemō'tstaxuit ti q'oyaki'mtst'aix·. Nō'noq'awēxum ts'ᴇn t'ayōʟᴇlat'aix· ayati snanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!
>
> ("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776
821
At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasalā'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ᴇmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Aʟk·x·ē'ʟnᴇm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānʟ t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Aʟqōʟ ti Mānʟ t'aix· ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aʟwalō'sᴇm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasalā'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasalā'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasalā'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, 776
“mouth kept open by means of a wedge.” Masmasalā'nix spoke: “The 821
sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open.” The
following kū'siut song refers to these deities: —

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tūsxts ti sō'nx·tsg·i t'aix. [539]
Aiētx tā mnatsai' ōt. ti S'atwalō'stems ti Sōnx' t'aix'.
Sk·a ya'lx·tux ti sī'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anō'g·a wa̤ txemē'x ti K·awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

(“My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'atwalō'stem of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!”)

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōt. or Qenk·i'lst, that is, “the land below.” 772
It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is 776
sitting with legs apart, who is called Atep!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long 823
stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar
by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his
hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake;
and the Bella Coola say, “Snēnikᵘpstak·imtōts,” that is, “he takes hold [731]
of our world.” When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. [753]
When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears.

In the ocean lives a being called Sētsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōtkᵘtōlē'mx·). It 772
is called Asiutā'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally
obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a 775
trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as [756]
a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the [787]
entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

Smaya'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children 773
make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk·ila.
The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain
Smayā'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" stays for four months.
Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" returns from the country of the Salmon,
while "Nō'ak·nᴇm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of [776]
Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm."

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated 773
according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should
be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the 805
year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices.
The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months 821
are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six
weeks. The names of the months are as follows:—

Sēɛ'mt (*winter solstice*)
Sxōlɛ'mx·ɛnɛm
[illegible]
Siaq'u'm
Siqiō'lx·
Sinō'moak·

Sēɛ'mt (*summer solstice*)
Si'ʟxum
Sevɛ'xɛmut
Sinuʟlā'lsɛmtɛnɛm
Tsi sitak·ā'ns tsʟau Anaōlikuts'ai'x·
ʟɛmuʟɛ'm

The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" leaves, in the month Sinuʟlā'lsɛmtɛnɛm. The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" returns, in the month Sxōlɛ'mx·ɛnɛm.

At the moment when the canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" arrives, a deity called 773
Anaōlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave,
opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each vil- 776
lage. Her cave is called Nuskēsiō'tsta. It is said that one Anaōlikuts'ai'x·
lives on the mountain Sqtsʟ. Her house is described as a large hollow
bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each
Anaōlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsē'xɛnɛm. When the
canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and
stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person [575]
sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into
the secrets of the kū'siut.

A particular Nuskēsiō'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anō'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlō'stxuit lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

776 [756] There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is ʟaʟaia'iʟ or Sxai'exoax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man [787] and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees ʟaʟaia'iʟ, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick, Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw ʟaʟaia'iʟ, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, ʟaʟaia'iʟ was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 756 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il [ʟaʟaia'iʟ]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[113]

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 194.

Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sxai'ēxoax], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with ʟaʟaiā'iʟ, who, as stated before, has the second name Sxai'ēxoax. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but kū'siut dancers (see Chap. VI). [775] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition : — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I came to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side." 756 776

539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw
it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tEma [from 'a'tema,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by L'ētsā'aplēLāna. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts
(see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'ētsā'aplēLāna flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The sī'siuL is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 28). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a sī'siuL, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a holly, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the sī'siuL with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the
[755] house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or
buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the sī'siuL, for which

they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is 756
kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a 776
healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons
chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain [755]
health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the sı'siuʟ is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal.

Toā'laʟ'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He 776
himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins,
or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some 539
of his characteristics: —

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Toā'laʟ'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'ō'lapᴇla. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Toā'laʟ'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!pōʟ (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Toā'laʟ'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Toā'laʟ'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Toā'laʟ'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Toā'laʟ'it made my arrows." Then Toā'laʟ'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?" — "Certainly," replied Lynx. Then Toā'laʟ'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539 one of them will have killed a large mountain-goat." The Lynx descended
776 the mountain, and saw that every one of his arrows had killed a goat. Then he was glad, because now he had food for his children. He jumped and danced for joy. And Toa'laʟ'it said, "I am Toa'laʟ'it. I am so called because I am the mountain-goat hunter. Now return to your village. From now on, I am your supernatural protector. The next time you go hunting, and you do not find any mountain-goats, sit down and throw your arrows down the mountain. Every one will kill a goat. But do not lose those arrows. If you should lose them, you would never kill another mountain-goat." The mountain-goats were so large, that Lynx took only their fat, which he put into his quiver and climbed down the mountain. He arrived at his house in the afternoon. He left his quiver outside, and the Raven saw him coming in. The Lynx sat down by the side of his wife. He did not say a word. His wife and his children also received him in silence. In the evening, when it was dark, he said to his wife, "Go and fetch my quiver. It is hanging outside on a stick." She went there and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy. She returned to her husband and told him that she was not strong enough to lift it, and asked him to fetch it himself. He said, "It is not heavy." He went out himself and brought it in. He opened it and took out the fat; and he gave some of it to his children, but he did not give any to the Raven's children. Then the Raven was very sad. After a little while, the Raven's children began to cry, because they wanted some of the fat.

Early the next morning the Lynx went to fetch the meat of the mountain-goat. The Raven watched him, and saw where he went. When he saw that the Lynx had killed mountain-goats, he made up his mind to go hunting too. He told his wife to make him a quiver while he went out to cut wood for his arrows. In the evening the quiver and the arrows were done. In the afternoon the Lynx came home, bringing the meat of the mountain-goats. Early the next morning the Raven started, following the tracks of the Lynx. He reached the place where the Lynx had sat down. He sat there, and placed his arrows by his side. He looked around for mountain-goats. After some time he saw a staff moving along in the distance. It approached, and soon he saw a man coming down the mountain. It was Toa'laʟ'it. He reached him, and sat down opposite the Raven. They did not speak a word. After a while Toa'laʟ'it arose, took up the arrows, and said, "Man, your arrows are beautiful. Who made them?" The Raven did not reply. Then Toa'laʟ'it said again, "Tell me who made your arrows." Then the Raven answered, "The name of the man who makes my arrows is Raven." Then Toa'laʟ'it took the arrows, threw them down the mountain, and said to the Raven, "You are bad!" And he turned back, and ascended the mountain. The Raven went down the mountain, trying to find his arrows.

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire: and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Toa'laʟ'it was killed at one time by an 773
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to
the tribe of the village Nusxē'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astás,[1] 776
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. [171]
Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella
Coola, and the Awī'k·'ēnōx of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called Kᵘtsōs is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is Kᵘtsōs, it 825
will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter
should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall
and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black [821]
mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [532]
Fig. 1). His herald is called Aʟxula'tɛnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face
is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff,
which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of
the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3);
the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); [575]
the Mountain, ʟē'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 30.

776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kū'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
575 the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes
[534] in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sɛnx. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of
773 Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'oā'lna	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sɛ'lia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtosō'nx.
3. Nusxē'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Sɛmsiutā'k·as, Nusqoa'xlanē, Sx'ints, and their sister Ē'nɛL'aLana.
4. Pē'isɛla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Stā'homx Yuyō'lk", Mɛntal't, Sisiō'L.
5. ALqla'xL	The present mission at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iyō'yōL, Xēmsē'mɛLnɛm, Snuxnala'la, and their sister Loqai'tsta.

000 the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we here separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Mask of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 12.)[1]

VI.

121 It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials
of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their
796 ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts
[124] published by Fillip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisau'k· and the kū'siut, which
796 correspond to the ʟaō'laxa and the ts'ētsā'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have
described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisau'k· ceremonials
575 are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of
which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the kū'siut ceremonials are
dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into
certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of
the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important.
These are called by the Bella Coola the ᴇlaxō'ʟᴇla, Olx, and Dā'tia. I
described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named
114 societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly
575 clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by
A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their
● 776 accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various
tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held
796 by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They
believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'waē initiates the Cannibals. He
is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and
large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but
received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals.
It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from
the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella
Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsi'waē is the particular spirit
of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

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[113]

[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 26, 27.

[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311–738.

tradition of the Awī'k·'enōx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only 114
modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is 575
described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident 776
which I heard related of the mother of At.k'untā'm.[1] He calls him "Beck- 796
Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pāh-Pāh Kualanusiva." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII. Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla Ko" (Qā'nig·ilak·) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, whil[illegible] is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest [illegible] Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k· and the kū'siut, stating that the kū'siut dances are performed during the sisau'k· in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a ʟaō'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisáu'k· dances may be held in summer, in which case the kū'siut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k· ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k· takes place during the kū'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kū'siut dances.

As stated before, the sisau'k· is a ceremonial in which the legend of the 575
clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time 424
valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness [431]
the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k· of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k· legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 366. [113]

[2] *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 292.

424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A
description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the
paper above referred to.[1]

614 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called
by the Bella Coola "Semsma" or "Smā'yusta." These traditions are the
424 exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend
from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided
into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and
possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community.
Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village com-
424 munity by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
582 to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement.
Even marriages among near relatives are permitted; and although marriages
of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it
even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order
to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community.
It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the
endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
[622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order
to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system
agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The kū'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated
according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
796 appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have
been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole
ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the
Kwakiutl.[2] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the kū'siut, that is to say, the man whose
son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition
796 of his clan, requests a person who is called Ê'xêm to invite the nine brothers
and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the
[776] kū'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xêmxêmalā'oʟla, Xē'mtsiwa,
Ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'ōʟla, Aī'umkī'lik·a, K·lē'lias, Q'ulaxā'wa,
Āt'mākᵘ; and that of their sister, ʟ'ētsā'apleʟana (see p. 33). In the rear
of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xêm, in which he lies down.
He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

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[1] Ymer, 1893, pp. 1-43.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 500ff.

mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this 114
subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other 177
Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident.

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that 621
of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the
origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are 171
divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis.
Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain [796]
ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions
are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more [776]
complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia. 174

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[1] "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 338). [113]

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nutʟē'ix used the subterranean lodge which is called tsī'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusq!ɛ'lst used the skin lodge which is called sk·ma (see p. 64). 171 174 177 342

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish? 174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smai'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ō'maq'ōmkilik·a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 174 177 424 614 [144] 174 177 776

174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin :—

776
a'Lokoala = shaman.
Alk·' = speaker.
[192] E'mask·in (p. 29) (Kwakiutl, He'mask·in) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'ā'qoag·ila = the copper maker.
L'ā'qumēiks = sister of Masmasalā'niq (the ending, ēks, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
Lōqoamā' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'isk·ilat.
Mentsi't (p. 48).
Mia'ltoa = the country of the salmon (p. 58) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
Nō'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'meatl·k'as (p. 70) = the real O'meatl.
O'meatl.mai (p. 70).
Qōmqōmk·ilā'ga (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'omk·ilā'ga) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'Lan.
Qoaiatsilā'qa (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqulis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mōtoa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Sonō'yak·ila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
Si'siuL = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Sonoyalō'ntsla (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'no (p. 58) = war.
Ya'k·ntemai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
177 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
424 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly
614 divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely
[621] that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded
by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two
means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions.
Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a
limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient
to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
174 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
182 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
424 village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and
614 consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent
[851] marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to
have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[601] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been
to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

(Cross-hatchings indicate black; vertical hatches, red; horizontal, blue; diagonal, green; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood.)

532
#716

Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the Singer of the House of Myths. Blue, red, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Double mask representing [illegible] (opened, closed, and profile of inner mask). Inner face, red, blue, and black; inner side of wings, black and red; outer face, black, red, blue. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing [illegible] (the door). Nostrils and mouth, red; forehead and eye region, blue; eyebrows, eyes, nose, black; rest, natural color. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible]. Natural color, black, spots blue, lines red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Black, blue, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 11.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Red, green, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 12.—Mask representing [illegible]. Natural color, black, orange. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 13.—Mask representing [illegible]. Blue, black, red, natural color. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate VII]

[End Plates I–VI not processed]

[illegible]

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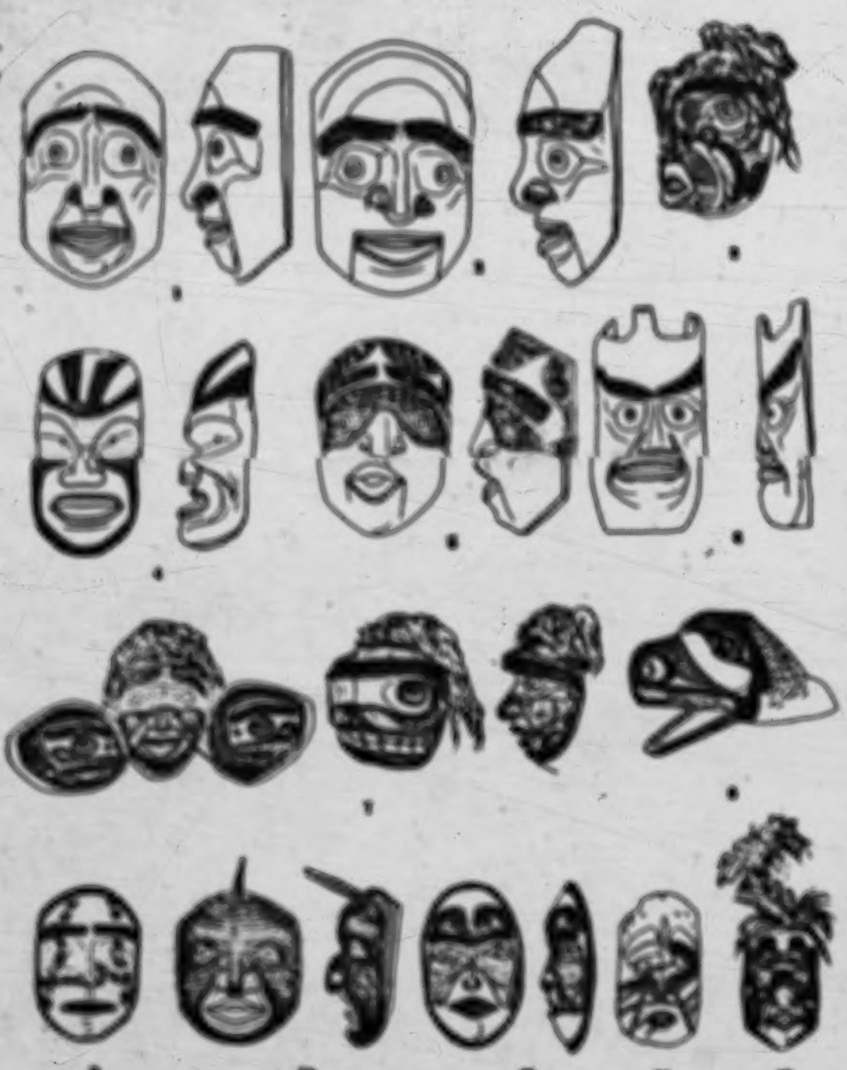

Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate VII.]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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Cross-hatching indicates black; vertical hatching, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (profile and front). Black, red, blue. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible], and details of ornaments attached to head-ring. Black, red, blue. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing [illegible]. Black, red, blue. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible]. Black, red, blue. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate VIII]

Memoirs Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. II. Plate VIII.

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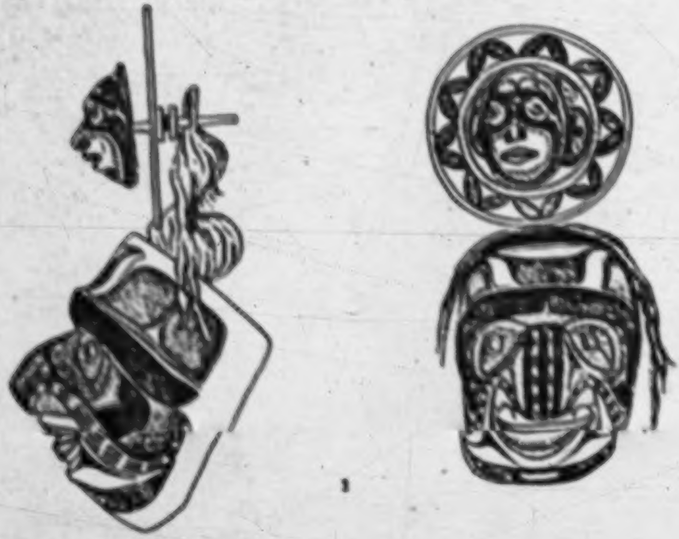

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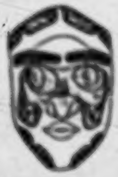

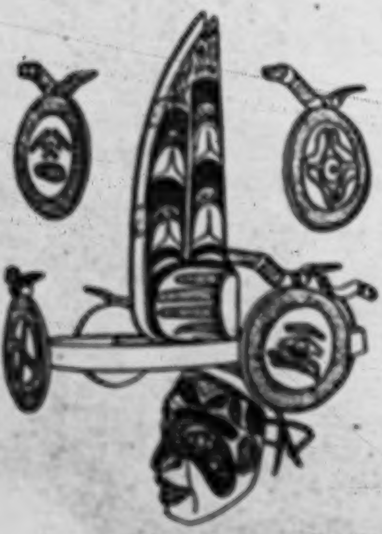

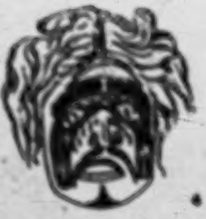

Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate VIII]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

⁂ Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Xĕmxĕmalā'oʟla (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 13½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Xĕ'mtsiwa (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Q'ō'mtsiwa (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Ai'umki'lik a (front and profile). Design: stars. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Kᵘlē'lias, wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: rainbow. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Q'ulaxā'wa (front and profile). Design: salmon-berry blossom. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

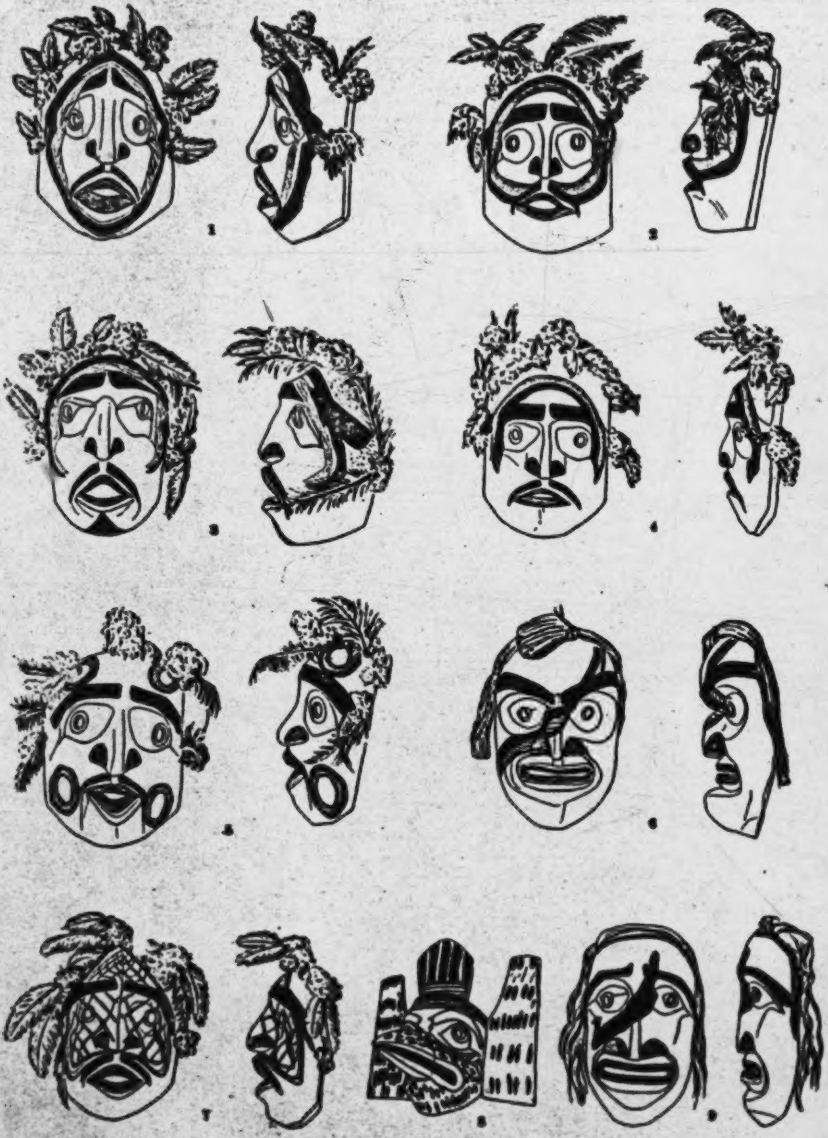
Fig. 8.—Mask representing Ā't'māk· (the kingfisher). Wings at sides of head, tail over the forehead. Natural color, black. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing ʟ'ĕtsā'aplĕʟāna, wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: grease-bladder. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate IX]

7;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Memoirs Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. II. Plate IX.



Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

⁂ Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; diagonal, green; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Naqumiqa'otsaix. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Aʟk·x·ē'ʟɴᴇm (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosɴᴇm (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosɴᴇm (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosɴᴇm (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Nonō'osqa, before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the shaman of Nonō'osqa (front and profile). Black, white streaks under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

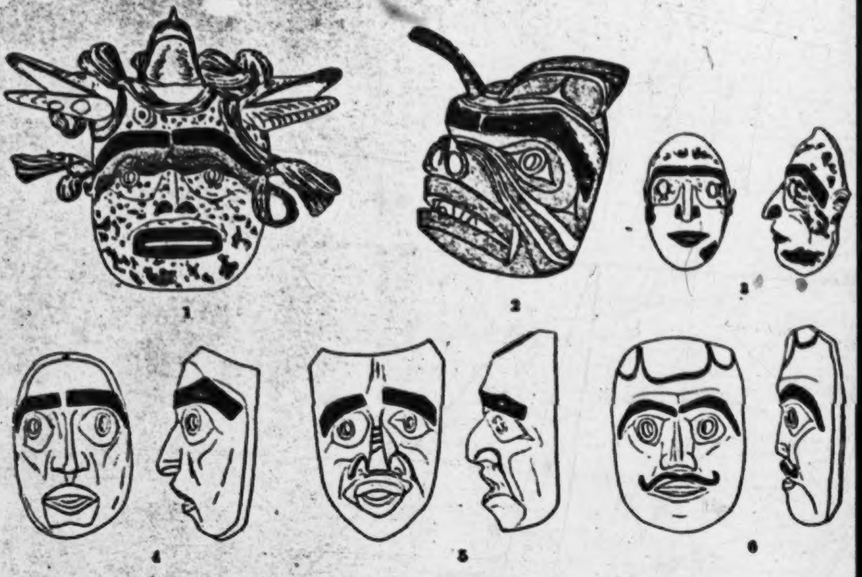
Fig. 9.—Mask representing Nonō'osqa, after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A'nʟ'āʟg·ila (the moon). Natural color, black. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of Nonō'osqa (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 15 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate X]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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate X]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

*** Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask *representing the thunder-bird (front and profile).* Black, red. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Aʟxulā'tᴇnum (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing ʟō'qots (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 19½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster K·'î'lx'ta. Red, blue, black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit ʟaʟaiā'iʟ. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate XI]

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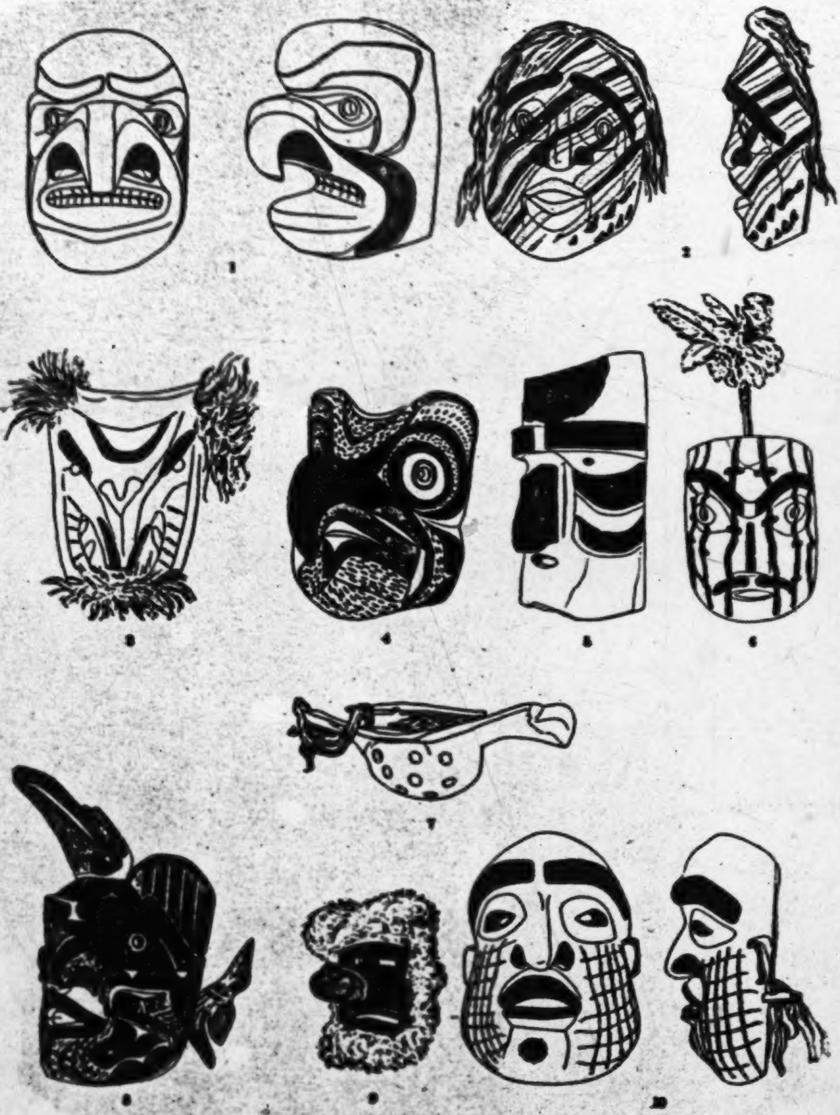
[796]



Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

⁂ Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Anaūlikuts'ai'x· (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Anaūlikuts'ai'x· (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the S'ɪ'ʟpsta in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

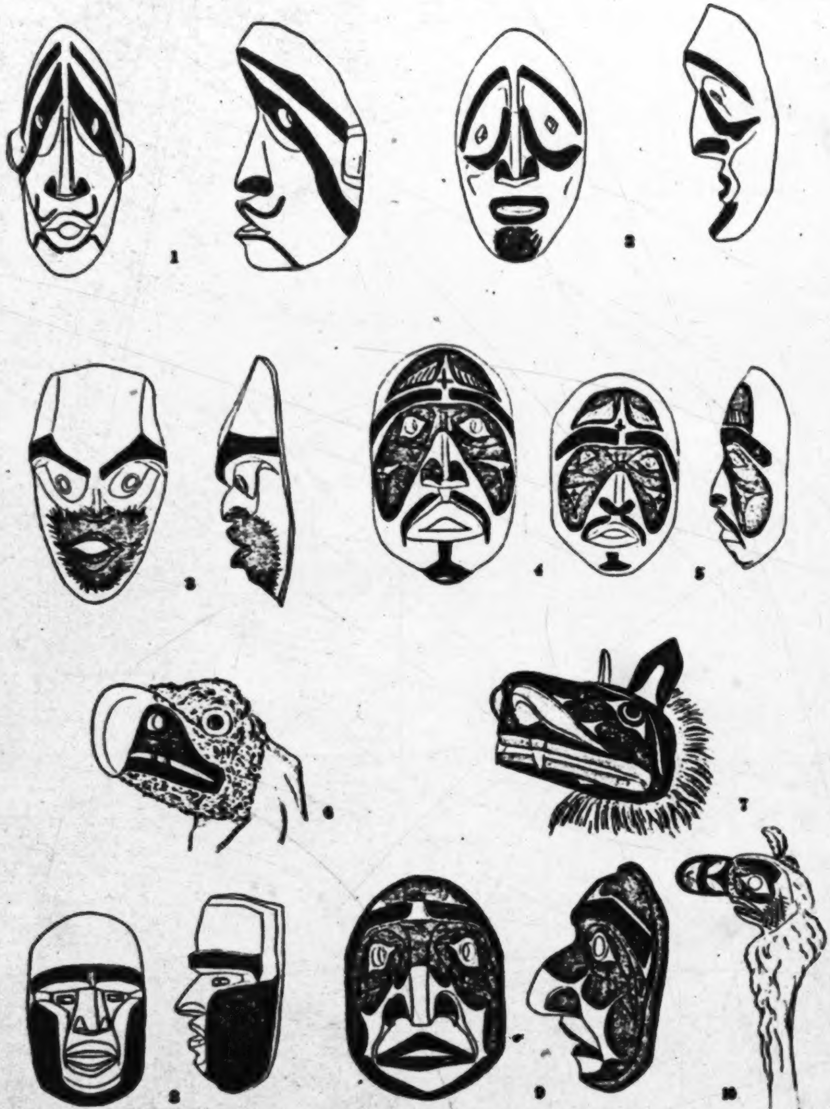
Fig. 7.—Carving representing the S'ɪ'ʟpsta in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the S'ɪ'ʟpsta (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the Ōlx (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the Ōlx. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate XII]



Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVI not processed]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

000 One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ō'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanī'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanī'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEä'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanī'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanī'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLā'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siō'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siō'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLā'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalasEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siō'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BĪ'LXULA.

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The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bī'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisau'k·, and the kū'siut. The sisau'k· corresponds to the Laō'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kū'siut to the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. The Bī'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xē'mtsiōs, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ō, ō,"
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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. 556
The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the kŭ′siut these deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xĕ′mtsioa and Xĕmxĕmalā′oʟa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xĕ′mtsioa by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xĕmxĕmalā′oʟa has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Aiumkĭ′lik·a and Aiumalā′oʟa wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth Q’ōmq’ōmkĭ′lik·a and
Q’ō′mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qula′xawa, whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulĕ′lias (who
wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, At’amā′k, wears on the head a mask representing
a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called ʟ’ĕtsā′aplĕʟāna (the eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued
by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau′k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisau′k· and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 796
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the sisau′k· and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi′lxula dance
the sisau′k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 614
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 424
sisau′k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful [592]
carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves’ children, also illegitimate [567]
children, can not become sisau′k·. A person can not take a [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk’ᴇlu′sta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people 575
should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, 773
they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees 776
me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall 535
punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my
house, you must not dance the kū'siut."

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man 575
has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the 776
people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung
up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only 535
in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing
close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire
from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also 535
property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to 575
members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's hus-
band, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the mem- 614
bers of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do
not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the 575
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower [426]
may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained
through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut [551]
name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from [428]
other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until
he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name
of ʟ'akō'oʟ. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the
details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the [556]
novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected
with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the
dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut
have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The [171]
highest degrees are the ᴇlaxō'ʟa (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the [554]
ō'lᴇx (the nū'ʟmaʟ of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaʟ
of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice
may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the ᴇlaxō'ʟa is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he 575
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the 785
sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The 787
chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the cere-
monies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of [266]
his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ᴇlaxō'ʟa. The
offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was
made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the
ᴇlaxō'ʟa order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of
the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast.
He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialō'stimōt of the Taliō'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected
with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his
secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xē'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ᴇlu'sta's (which is his kū'siut
575 name) Xē'mtsioa name was Aʟ'ɪʟᴇmnᴇ'lus'aix·, but at his next potlatch
he intended to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are
614 also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names.
When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them
among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may,
after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k·
secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan.
When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After
any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others,
but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are
the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by
a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part
of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told,
for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a
potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going
to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs
are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikuts'ai'x·.
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
773 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she
● 776 opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaūlikuts'ai'x· invited her into her
cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments
of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was
blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the